AN ACCOUNT

OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES ATTENDING THE

IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH

OF THE LATE

WILLIAM MILLARD,

Formerly Superintendant of the Theatre of Anatomy of St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark.

IN WHICH WILL BE FOUND SOME AUTHENTIC AND INTERESTING DETAILS RESPECTING THE PURPOSES TO WHICH THE HOSPITALS IN THE METROPOLIS, AND PARTICULARLY THOSE OF ST. THOMAS'S, GUY'S, AND THE LONDON HOSPITAL ARE APPLIED: WITH PARTICULARS OF SUCH

Abuses, Peculations, and Misapplications

OF THE

FUNDS OF THESE INSTITUTIONS AS HAVE *HITHERTO* BEEN DISCOVERED;

AND OF THE

Barter and Sale of the Patients' Dead Bodies

FOR THE PURPOSES OF DISSECTION.

WITH

STRICTURES ON THE CONDUCT OF SIR ASTLEY COOPER, SIR WILLIAM BLIZARD, MR. GREEN, AND ALSO AN EXPOSURE OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF MR. MORGAN, MR. WEBBE, SURGEON TO THE MIDDLESEX COUNTY JAIL; THE FIRE PROOF AND INVULNERABLE MR. WAKLEY, AND OTHER SUBORDINATE MEMBERS OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION:

ACCOMPANIED BY SOME

Original Letters and Documents in Support and Confirmation of the whole.

"WE FEEL CONFIDENT THAT THE PARTICULARS OF THIS EXTRAORDINARY TRANSACTION WILL EXCITE THE GREATEST DISGUST AND INDIGNATION!"

Lancet, Vol. I. No. 12. In allusion to "the cruel treatment of the late Wm. Millard."

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1825.

AN ACCOUNT,

&c.

BEFORE entering upon the immediate subject of these pages, it will be necessary for us to trouble the reader with some particulars of St. Thomas's Hospital. First, because it is in consequence of events which have occurred in that establishment, that the details found in the following narrative are submitted to the public; and, secondly, to render these details more clear and intelligible than they otherwise would be. In performing this part of our task, however, it will not be requisite for us to go back to the period of the Crusades in order to trace the origin of this Charity to the piety of St. Mary Overie, or "Sweet Mary of the Ferry;" to narrate its first endowment by Pierre de Roche, Bishop of Winchester; or its dedication to St. Thomas-à-Becket, and the shelter it afforded to the poor pilgrims travelling to his shrine; to describe its seizure at the Reformation, by the English Nero, Henry the Eighth; and its re-endowment by his amiable and excellent successor; to laud the zeal and liberality of the citizens of London of former times in providing funds to rebuild it, or to enumerate the long list of its private benefactors; for a full account of these topics, and for an accurate description of the present edifice of St. Thomas's Hospital, including its quadrangles, courts, statues, inscriptions, its halls, theatres for surgical operations and for anatomical lectures, its surgery, laboratory, warm and cold baths, &c. we must refer those of our readers who are desirous of further information on these points, to Golding's Historical Account of St. Thomas's Hospital, and the sources from which that work is compiled. Thus much, however, it will be proper to mention, that this institution is richly endowed;* its expenditure,

* The whole of the land and houses in the parish of St. Thomas are said to constitute *a part only* of the property belonging to this institution. The public, we believe, are kept totally in the dark as to the nature, the amount, and the management of this property. It would unquestionably

and, consequently, its income, being, as it is stated in the work above referred to, on the average, about £10,000 a year. The management and application of these funds are entrusted to the Governors of this Institution, whose authority is exercised by a committee of between twenty and thirty chosen from their own body, and by the officers of the Hospital, of whom the Governors have the appointment. These Governors by the regulations framed when the Hospital was incorporated in the reign of Edward the Sixth, are not to be less than sixty-two in number: in the middle of the last century they amounted to three hundred and thirty, but at present they are stated not to be so numerous. On the death of any of these, the survivors are required by the regulations to assemble and elect others to supply the vacancy. The appointments of St. Thomas's Hospital are the following:

1. The President, Alderman CHRISTOPHER SMITH.
2. The Treasurer, ABEL CHAPMAN, Esq.
3. The Chaplain, Rev. R. W. LYALL.
4. The Steward, Mr. WILLIAM NASH.
5. The Clerk, Mr. JOHN WAINEWRIGHT.
6. The Receiver, Mr. JOSEPH BEEVERS.
7. The Matron, Miss SAVORY.
8. The inferior officers, viz, the Butler, DANIEL WHEELER; the Beadles, Cook, and Porters, JAMES PATERSON, WILLIAM BULL, JOHN SPOONER, JOHN WILCOX.
9. The Servants.
10. The Female Domestics.

The medical officers consist of four physicians, three surgeons and their assistants, an apothecary, &c. &c.

The present Physicians are, ROBERT WILLIAMS, M. D. JOHN SCOTT, M. D. JOHN ELLIOTSON, M. D.

be very desirable that a clause in the Charter of the Royal Founder of this Charity should be put in force, which ordains, "That the king shall appoint commissioners from time to time to visit the said Hospital, to see how the revenues of the same lands be spent and employed." That such enquiries would not be altogether superfluous may be conjectured, when it is stated that within a few years *three stewards* of the sister institution (Guy's Hospital) *proved defaulters*, two of them committed suicide, and the last, after being found deficient to the amount of £1100 as steward, and nearly £100 as overseer of the parish, was "privately put away," or, in other words was, as we have been informed, literally kicked out of one of the back doors of the Institution which he had robbed. This occurred in May, 1824. It is little imagined, as is somewhere said by our old and sagacious friend Gil Blas, how many become rich by being entrusted with the superintendance of the poor.

Assistant Physician, H. S. ROOTS, M. D.

Surgeons, Mr. B. TRAVERS; Mr. J. H. GREEN; Mr. F. TYRREL.

Apothecary, Mr. R. WHITFIELD.

Besides these, there are what are called the apothecary's man and the surgery man's assistant, who attend the dead house, remove the bodies of such as die in any of the wards, and when buried under the direction of the Hospital, they conduct the funeral, and take the body for interment.

Having noticed thus briefly the revenues and the government of St. Thomas's Hospital, we must proceed to make a few remarks on this Institution viewed as a school of medicine, or a medical college. The public in general have some vague notions on this point; for instance, that students walk the hospitals, as it is termed, in order to acquire information and experience in their profession; but beyond this notion they have no idea whatever how hospitals serve for this purpose, or what is the routine adopted to attain these objects. As it would be scarcely possible for the reader of these pages, if unconnected with the medical profession, to understand the subsequent narrative without some further explanation on the above points, we shall endeavour to furnish him with whatever information we have been enabled to acquire on this subject.

In the first place, then, it will be our duty to call the reader's attention to the arrangements made in St. Thomas's Hospital for the convenience of the professors and students of medicine. Of that part of the hospital appropriated exclusively to the use of these gentlemen, the theatre for anatomical and surgical lectures is the most considerable. This edifice, we are informed by the author of the Historical Account of St. Thomas's Hospital before referred to, "was erected "during the year 1814, at a *reciprocal expense* between "*the* ***FUNDS*** of the ***HOSPITAL*** and *the costs of those* "*whose interests were* MORE IMMEDIATELY *concerned* "in its completion."—"The entrance hall, which is ascended "by a flight of steps, is spacious, and leads to a circular "and commodious room, having a gallery, numerous seats "ranged above each other, a handsome sky-light, several "ventilators, a table with a revolving axis for anatomical "demonstrations, and a chair for the lecturer. This room "will contain with ease *four hundred persons*. On the "left side of the hall is a museum, containing a variety of "preparations and specimens of physiological and patho-

"logical phenomena. On the right side of the hall is a "commodious dissecting room, which for size, convenience, "and *comfort* is said to be unequalled. This room has "several sky-lights and ventilators, and is sufficiently "capacious to admit of from one to *two hundred students* "*dissecting at a time*, without any inconvenience to each "other." From this account we learn, among other things, that this theatre, museum, and dissecting room, so remarkable for its comfort, were erected "at a reciprocal expense between the funds of the hospital and the costs of those whose interests were more immediately concerned in its completion." Now, although we are deeply sensible of the importance and value of the medical profession and of the necessity of affording every means for its cultivation and advancement, and, although we are convinced there are many *more* objectionable modes of employing the funds of a charity,* yet we entertain strong doubts whether the Governors of St. Thomas's are justified either legally or morally in sanctioning such an application of the funds of the institution of which they are the appointed guardians. If it be necessary to convert hospitals into medical colleges, and to erect anatomical theatres, museums, and dissecting rooms, for the emolument of lecturers and the improvement of students, does it not appear just and obvious that the whole of the expense should be borne by "those whose interests were more immediately concerned," rather than taken from funds left expressly and exclusively for the support and relief of the afflicted poor? Might not those who are so unfortunate as to be under the necessity of resorting to hospitals for relief addressing the medical professors, exclaim, "Is it not enough that you have our bodies to practise on when living, and to dissect when dead? Must we in addition to this PAY FOR THE ERECTION of THEATRES AND DISSECTING ROOMS, where our remains are to be mutilated and exhibited for your instruction and improvement?† We have

* See the peculations by three successive stewards mentioned in a preceding note.

† The following extract, from the work already referred to, [Historical Account of St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark. By Benjamin Goulding, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, &c. &c. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Browne, 1819,] will shew the grounds on which the above observations are founded.

"The day for receiving patients into the Hospital is Thursday, at ten o'clock in the morning, when those persons who wish for admittance are required to furnish themselves with a petition, which is supplied gratui-

already adverted to the practice of exacting fees of admission from patients, all of whom, previous to their being received into the hospital, are called on to declare in the petition which they present, that they are "in *low* "*circumstances* and *destitute* of *friends*, whereby to "obtain a cure." An equally strange, and we will venture

tously at the steward's office, in which their name, age, and complaint, are to be inserted." The petition runs thus:—

"'*To the Worshipful President, Treasurer, and Governors of*
"'*St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark.*

"'THE humble Petition of aged Sheweth,
'That your Petitioner is afflicted with and being
'IN LOW CIRCUMSTANCES, AND DESTITUTE OF FRIENDS, whereby to
'obtain a Cure, most humbly desires your Worships would be pleased to
'admit h into the said Hospital, and, as in duty bound, h will
'ever pray.'

"'*Recommended by* } Governor.

"The time of admitting Patients is at ten o'clock on Thursday morning precisely.

"ADMISSION FEES, viz.—

"Clean Patient, .. 3s. 6d. | Foul Do. .. .. 10s. 6d.

"The patients are examined in rooms appointed for that purpose by the physician or surgeon of the week, under whose care they are to be placed, and if reported proper objects for relief they are requested to produce a *respectable guarantee as a security for their removal when cured*, or THEIR BURIAL *when they die in the Hospital, or deposit the sum of one guinea* to defray the expense of the latter, which deposit is returned when they leave the Hospital, cured or relieved, after which they are sent to their respective wards for their reception, &c." page 225.

According to the Official Account presented by the governor, in 1810, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen (see page 244 of the Historical Account), the number of patients was 10,304, of which 2911 were in-patients. Supposing the in-patients alone to pay admission fees, which, however, is not stated, and that a third of them pay half-a-guinea, and the remainder three shillings and sixpence each, on their admission, the following estimate will give some idea of the sums which are annually extracted from "the poor miserable objects" (they are thus designated in the Official Account from which these statements are taken) who apply for relief at St. Thomas's Hospital.

			£.	s.	d.
2000 Patients,	3s. 6d. each, ..	....	350	0	0
911 Do.	10s. 6d. each, ..	....	478	5	6
		£	828	5	6 per ann.

Thus it appears that the "poor miserable objects" who become patients of St. Thomas's Hospital, contribute upwards of £800. per annum to the funds of the Institution, and it is out of funds thus augmented that the Governors of this Hospital grant money (if we are to believe the author of the work above referred to) to build museums, anatomical theatres, and dissecting rooms. But, perhaps, the reader will say, these costly edifices contribute in some way or other to the advantage of the patients! Not one iota more than they do to any other class of the community.—Then for what purpose do these anatomical theatres and dissecting rooms serve? Solely to put money into the pockets of the lecturers, men, be

to say, a still more objectionable regulation is described in page 225 of the Historical Account of St. Thomas's Hospital. We are there informed, that "the patients are "examined in rooms appointed for that purpose, by the "physician or surgeon of the week, under whose care they "are to be placed, and if reported proper objects for relief, "they are requested to produce a *respectable guarantee* "for their *removal when cured*, or *their burial if they* "*die in the hospital*, or *deposit the sum of one guinea* to "defray the expense of the latter, which deposit is returned "when they leave the hospital cured or relieved." We need not stop to advert to the reasonableness of requiring fees and securities from persons, who, to become qualified for admission into the hospital, must be "in low circum-"stances and destitute of friends;" nor is it necessary to dwell upon the cheering and consolatory effect it must have on the mind of one bowed down by sickness and suffering, to be called on, as the first preliminary step to a cure, to give security for the expenses of his interment, in case he should die under the treatment of those into whose hands he is about to entrust his life! These reflections must occur to every one becoming acquainted with the above-mentioned regulations. It is however chiefly for the purpose of noticing an abuse which this practice gave rise to on the part of one of the inferior servants of the hospital, and which, for the credit of human nature, it is to be hoped no longer exists. It may be readily conceived, that the greater portion of those who apply for the benefit of this charity, are *really* and *literally*, as they declare on the petition which they present, "in low circumstances and "destitute of friends." This regulation would obviously present an insuperable obstacle to the admission of numerous applicants. On such occasions, therefore, one of the porters

it remembered, who either directly or indirectly are amply remunerated for their professional services to the patients. In short, Mr. Brookes, or Mr. Grainger, or the owner of any other school of anatomy, might with equal justice claim assistance from the funds of St. Thomas's, or Guy's Hospitals, for the purpose of building or repairing the respective establishments belonging to those gentlemen.

Note.—[Since this pamphlet was sent to the press we have been informed, that some of the fees above-mentioned have been discontinued: if this be the fact, it affords another proof of the salutary effects of publicity in the removal of abuse. It cannot, however, in the slightest degree invalidate the animadversions made on the application, or rather mis-application, of the funds, as the fees in question were taken for many years after the erection of the museum, anatomical theatre, and dissecting rooms, at St. Thomas's Hospital.]

of the hospital was in the habit of offering his assistance to any friendless object who applied for admission, to become the security for the expence of the patient's interment, in case of his death. This offer was of course gratefully accepted. If the individual recovered, the generosity of this good christian went unrequited: but if he died, then "virtue had its due reward;" for, while the spirit of the poor sufferer "winged its way to Abraham's bosom," the porter walked away with the body to the dissecting-room, and found himself a gainer of four guineas by each of these acts of disinterested humanity. This honest traffic continued for some time, until it was found to interfere with the profits of the steward's office; into which, by an arrangement between that officer and the surgical professor of the hospital, *a fee of three guineas and a half has for many years past been paid by the professors for every subject transferred from the dead-house of the hospital to the dissecting-room.* The assertion that the bodies of the deceased patients of the hospitals of this metropolis are bought and sold like those of sheep and oxen in the shambles of a market, will appear hardly credible to many who read it. To those, therefore, who may be desirous of a confirmation of this fact, before they give credit to it, we beg to refer to J. K. Green, Esq., one of the principal lecturers and professors of surgery at St. Thomas and Guy's Hospitals, and should he feel any reluctance to open his mouth on this subject, as he probably would, Mrs. Millard has in her possession some documents wherein these facts are indisputably established by the *written* testimony of the above-named gentleman.*

* It will, probably, be asked from whom did this regulation emanate? Is it sanctioned by the treasurer? Is it known to the governors? To these enquiries we are unable to return any answer: we can only vouch for the truth of the statements now made, and which we do, *fully aware of the responsibility incurred, and fully prepared to meet it.* If then the facts are as we have intimated, that a sum of money or security for the expenses of interment is exacted from those who "are in low circumstances and destitute of friends whereby to obtain a cure," and their bodies after death are treated as the property and sold for the emolument of the steward; not only is a delusion imposed on the public, but a gross and cruel fraud practised on the unfortunate patients, who are thus compelled to pay, for what? For the privilege of having their bodies handed over, like a murderer's, to the surgeons for dissection, and for having a *mock funeral* performed, as is in such cases invariably done, to render the farce complete. It will be unnecessary to offer any remarks on these facts; but we are persuaded that no one possessing the common feelings of humanity could fail, on becoming acquainted with them, to reprobate practises such as are here described.

As the conduct of one trustworthy gate-keeper of St. Thomas's Hospital has been mentioned, the reader will, we have no doubt, pardon us for relating an anecdote of another individual holding a similar situation, which while it characterizes the man, will serve to shew what respectable and conscientious persons are sometimes to be found in the service of a charitable institution. About eight or nine years since an honest tar, after suffering a considerable time under the dropsy, died in the vicinity of St. Thomas's Hospital, in a public house of which his brother-in-law was the landlord. Among his customers and acquaintances "mine host" reckoned Mr. Paterson, another of the porters of St. Thomas's Hospital, and was, probably, initiated by him into some of the secrets of his calling. However this may be, the poor sailor had no sooner breathed his last, than the idea struck his affectionate relative that not only all the expense and painful ceremony of his brother-in-law's interment might be avoided, but an honest penny gained by the simple expedient of selling his body to the surgeons. Through the kind assistance of Mr. Paterson, who took the management of the whole affair into his own hands, the sale was duly effected, and the mortal remains of "poor Jack" were transferred from the public house to the table of the dissecting-room of St. Thomas's Hospital, there to be cut up or boiled down, as occasion might require, for the edification of the students and the general advancement of medical science. So far, so good: all parties had reason to be satisfied; "mine host," instead of having to pay for the burial of his departed relative, had "value received" for him; the obliging Mr. Paterson had not only the pleasure of serving a friend, but, by "going snacks," had also the satisfaction of serving himself, and the surgeons had every reason to be satisfied with *their* bargain, the poor fellow's complaint having swollen him to a monstrous size, the purchasers considered him

"Wond'rous cheap,
And for the money—quite a heap."

But the shrewdest persons will unfortunately sometimes over-reach themselves; and this had nearly been the case with mine host of the Ship and Shovel*, and his worthy friend and coadjutor, Mister Paterson; nothing, indeed,

* It will be proper to observe here that this anecdote does NOT refer *to the present*, but to a FORMER, tenant of the public-house aforementioned.

but the skill and enterprise of the latter could have rescued his respectable colleague from the embarassment in which he found himself placed. After the bargain and sale above mentioned of poor Jack's body, it was discovered that a certain sum of prize money was due to him, or his legal representatives, which, woeful to relate, could not be obtained without producing a *certificate of his burial.* Here was a dilemma! What was to be done? Jack's remains had not been "put under hatches" in the customary way. His burial place was no other than the cauldrons of the anatomical theatre, where "his too solid flesh melted, thawed, and resolved itself into dew." In this pressing emergency the enterprising Mister Paterson again took the field in order to serve his friend, and *in some way or other* contrived to get a *blank certificate of burial* from the office of the steward of St. Thomas's Hospital. This was duly filled up by the united ingenuity of the party, was presented and accepted at the government offices, the money was paid, and the difficulty thus surmounted by the boldness and dexterity of the incomparable Mister Paterson. Taking leave of Mister Paterson for the present it is time for us to proceed in the sketch we were engaged in giving of St. Thomas's Hospital considered as a school of medicine. The reader has already formed an idea of the extensive arrangements made for this purpose from the statement that the theatre of anatomy is built to contain "*with ease*" *four hundred persons.* The routine of a medical student's education chiefly consists, so far as we can learn, in attending lectures which are given at the different hospitals by professors on anatomy, surgery, materia medica, chemistry, botany, &c. &c. In walking the hospitals, that is to say, in attending at all the important operations performed there, and lastly, in dissecting subjects, as they are called, (an elliptical expression we presume for His Majesty's Subjects). In St. Thomas's Hospital the deaths are between two and three hundred annually, (see the Report presented to the Lord Mayor in 1819). The greater portion of these, we believe, are removed for interment by their friends: the remainder for the most part find their way into the anatomical theatre or the dissecting room: but as these are insufficient for the consumption of the students, they are compelled to resort to the assistance of the resurrection men, who, when they are satisfied with the terms offered them, put the burial grounds of the metropolis

into requisition to supply their employers.* To St. Thomas's Hospital and to most others are attached three practitioners of surgery, who are called Hospital Surgeons: each of these is entitled to have three apprentices, who, from the great advantages attached to the extensive field for practice to be found in a hospital, generally pay large premiums. These surgeons, like the other officers of the institution, are ostensibly chosen by the Governors, but, if we are not misinformed, generally owe their appointments to the influence of the treasurer. The physicians and the hospital surgeons, with their apprentices and assistants, called Dressers,† and the students, form the medical body to whose care and treatment the patients in each hospital are entrusted. From among the former (i. e. the physicians and surgeons) the lecturers are appointed, who give two series of lectures in the course of the year, upon the various subjects constituting a complete course of medical education. The first course of lectures commences in January, and is called the spring course; the second begins in October, and is called the autumnal course; every student attending these, pays five guineas for each course of lectures, and three guineas for admission into the dissecting room. A book is kept containing the names of the students, who, in rotation, pay for, and dissect all the subjects which are brought in; one subject being allotted to four students. Each student, on putting down his name for a subject, pays £1 : 2; if the subjects however should cost more, the extra expense is borne by the lecturer, for the sake of retaining the pupils, by whom they make, it is said, in some instances, from two to three thousand a year. After going through the routine of study, of which we have endeavoured to give our readers some notion, the student, we believe, it is

* The medical professors of almost all the hospitals in the metropolis are, we believe, obliged to have recourse to this mode of supplying their dissecting-rooms, excepting only those of the London Hospital, who, either from the smaller number of students, or the greater mortality among the patients, have always sufficient for dissection, and can sometimes accommodate their less fortunate colleagues of the other hospitals.

† The dressers are generally medical students, who pay the hospital surgeons a sum of money for the situation; on account of the extensive practice which it affords. The reprehensible nature of this regulation will easily be conceived, when it is considered that the office of dresser, or assistant surgeon, instead of being given to those students who have evinced superior talents in their profession, may be had by any person, *however incompetent*, who can pay the usual fee. This assertion, it should be observed, is not founded on conjecture, but on facts which have actually occurred within these few years, and of which there are living witnesses.

generally well known, applies to the College of Surgeons for a certificate or licence to practice; which, if upon examination he is found duly qualified, is immediately granted; if however he is considered incompetent, the certificate is refused, and he is not entitled to apply again for it until he has attended a certain number of lectures upon Anatomy, Surgery, Midwifery, Physiology, Materia-Medica, &c. &c.

Having communicated to those readers who are unconnected with the medical profession (and for the information of such alone, the preceding details are intended) some idea of the various and unsuspected purposes to which St. Thomas's, among other Hospitals, is applied, we shall proceed to introduce to their notice, the unfortunate subject of the following narrative.—The late William Millard for many years held the situation of superintendant of the theatre of anatomy, anatomical museum, and dissecting room, to which he was appointed by the late Mr. Henry Cline, son of the distinguished practitioner of that name: by these gentlemen Millard was well known, and highly esteemed for his conduct in a confidential situation, which he had formerly held in the family of a relative of their's. The various duties which devolved upon Millard in this capacity it will be needless at present to enumerate. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to state, that one of the most important was to receive the subjects which were brought by the resurrection-men, and to pay them the stipulated price. Men whose employments or pursuits place them in a state of hostility with the laws of their country, too often from that circumstance alone become demoralized; but when in addition to this they are the objects of popular odium and execration, they are induced to set at defiance two of the most powerful checks upon vice and crime which can influence human conduct. It would be difficult to point out a more striking illustration of this remark than that which is to be found in the character and conduct of resurrection-men, for, in general, we believe, a more profligate or unprincipled set of fellows is not to be found. It consequently required some skill, and not a little firmness, to deal with a class so lawless and daring as these men usually are. The plan which Millard adopted for this purpose reflected much credit on his judgment, as it is one that has seldom been found to fail with men under any circumstances when properly applied. If

on any occasion when engaged in the service of the medical professors of St. Thomas's Hospital, they "got into trouble," or were laid hold of by the clutches of the law, Millard spared neither pains nor expense to extricate them. If, on the other hand, they were guilty of any violence or outrage, he was not less zealous and determined in bringing them to punishment: were they extortionate in their demands, he was equally successful in baffling them, as we shall hereafter see, and in thus protecting the interests of the students and of the medical professors, on whose behalf he acted.

With respect to the general question, as to the mode of procuring dead bodies for dissection, it will be scarcely necessary for us to trouble the reader with many remarks, as the subject has not long since been warmly discussed. Although it appears to us that all the disputants have done, is to leave the question, as is too often the case, in nearly the same state as they found it. On the one hand it is said, and said truly, that without dissection the medical art, an art of all others the most valuable and indispensible, must be seriously injured, if not totally destroyed. On the other hand, it is scarcely possible to overcome the repugnance which is almost universally entertained towards this practice: neither can we bring ourselves to blame such a prejudice, if prejudice it be, which has its origin in so pure, so hallowed a motive, as that of affection for a departed relative. Who, may we ask, even among the practitioners of medicine, does not shudder at the mere contemplation, that the remains of all which was dear to him, of a beloved parent, wife, sister, or daughter, may be exposed to the rude gaze and perhaps to the INDECENT JESTS of unfeeling men,* and afterwards be mutilated and dismembered in the presence of hundreds of spectators. For our own parts, we may be allowed to state, that we know some who entertain not the slighest objection to the dissection of their *own* persons after death; but who, however, cannot contemplate the case we have just supposed, without feeling the utmost horror and indignation. Under these circumstances, there is only one plan which we conceive at all likely to diminish the aversion which the public at present entertain to this practice, and we are far from being confident of its success, although we,

* We should observe that this is not mere surmise. It is impossible to be more explicit: we must, therefore, content ourselves with remarking with reference to such occurrences, that what has happened heretofore may, and in all probability will, happen again.

conceive ourselves bound to advert to it. The plan we allude to is, that all professors of medicine, at least, all those who make dissection part of their professional education should *bequeath their own bodies* after death, *and those of all their friends and relatives over whom they have any control, to be dissected* for the improvement of science and the general good of mankind.* What, we would ask, could be better calculated to reconcile the public to the necessity of dissection, than the announcement of Lady Cooper's death (which, at present, may heaven avert, as we are informed she is a very amiable woman), and that, notwithstanding Sir Astley felt inconsolable for her loss, yet, with the *liberality* and love of science for which he was distinguished, he had given orders for the immediate removal of her remains to the theatre of anatomy, at St. Thomas's or Guy's Hospital, where he intended to demonstrate and lecture upon them forthwith. Or that Mr. Abernethy had expired after a short illness, and that, anxious to benefit science after death as much as when living, he had bequeathed his body for dissection to the students of St. Bartholemew's Hospital; his skeleton to the anatomical museum at St. Thomas's, and the occasional use of his skull to the Phrenological Society. If any thing could ever overcome the aversion of the public to dissection, it would be acts as liberal and disinterested as these.

Subjects, it appears, are liable to vicissitudes in price, like all other commodities, according to the greater or less facilities in obtaining them, and the greater or less demand for them in the market. The price was formerly three guineas for an adult, and no "body" which had not attained the length of three feet was entitled to this appellation. Mr. Papps, the celebrated German dwarf, whose altitude

* How far the professors of medicine would be inclined to accede to this recommendation may be conjectured from the following occurrence.—About four years ago, Hollis, one of the most noted of the resurrection men, brought to the dissecting room of St. Thomas's Hospital, among the other *spoils* of a vault at the west-end of the metropolis, the body of a female child, about six or seven years old, which had fallen a victim to that formidable malady the scrofula. This body, from the ravages which the disease had made on it, was easily distinguishable from any other, and one of the students, on entering the dissecting-room, instantly recognised it as his sister's child! His feelings may be easily imagined: instead, however, of philosophically consigning the remains of the poor little sufferer to the dissecting-knife, he addressed an indignant remonstrance to the professor under whom he was studying, (Mr. Green) who was quite content to pacify the student and hush the matter up, by ordering the body to be interred in the burying ground of the hospital.

was 33 inches only, had he lived even to the age of Methuselah, would never, we believe, have been considered an adult, according to the laws of the dissecting room. The price subsequently was increased to four guineas, and at last Messrs. Crouch and Butler, the leaders of the gallant band, who were purveyors of anatomies to St. Thomas's Hospital, attempted to raise the price to six guineas. In consequence of the students' refusal to give this sum, the resurrection men kept them without subjects for three months, or, as the technical phrase is amongst them, endeavoured to *starve* the students out. In this attempt the knights of the pick-axe and shovel would probably have succeeded, but that the *horrors* of *famine* were in some measure alleviated, during this critical period, by an occasional "windfall" from the hospital, and were finally terminated by Millard, who was never wanting in zeal when the interests of the students were at stake, procuring a supply from some other quarters. The discovery of this drove the resurrection-men to desperation. In consequence, they one day broke into the dissecting room during Millard's absence, mangled the subjects lying there, menaced the students with their knives, and left, threatening vengeance against Millard and his employers. For this outrage they were prosecuted by the heads of the hospital. The result was, that when the parties were about to be put on their trial a compromise took place, by the prosecutions being withdrawn, on the two offenders entering into recognizances for their good behaviour for a certain number of years. The reason for this leniency on the part of the hospital may easily be conceived by those who are aware of the alarm felt by the medical professors, if there be any danger of their dealings with these men being made known to the public. The effect of the arrangements which thus took place was to prevent these individuals resuming their profitable pursuits. Crouch, who now resides in the neighbourhood of the Kent Road, retired with an easy competence, the fruits of his enterprise and industry, and has since directed his talents to a less hazardous and equally lucrative occupation, that of a *dealer in human teeth*. His coadjutor, Butler, entered upon some speculations of a still more dangerous nature than those he had relinquished, and which in all probability would have converted him into a subject for his old employers, but for the friendly

interference of Sir Astley with the higher powers.* When these worthies had thus been compelled to retire from business, a man of the name of Murphy, who resides in St. Thomas's Tents, became, and we believe still is, the leader of the band of desperadoes who disturb the dead for the benefit of the living. This man, who, when he first entered the service of the professors of St, Thomas's Hospital, had a fragment of linen dangling from his smallclothes, has lately been advertising for land to invest his money!! It is said he has his eye at present upon a park and mansion in the neighbourhood of his friend Sir A. Cooper's estate. He can, besides, and frequently does, indulge in the two-fold luxury, of getting thoroughly drunk and thrashing his wife, to his if not to her heart's content. An idea of his character may be formed from the following fact, for which he himself is the authority: Mr. Abernethy having occasion for a certain number of subjects, agreed to purchase them of this fellow at a stipulated price; before fulfilling his agreement, however, Murphy demanded the sum of fifty pounds, as a *bonus*, beyond the sum agreed to be paid for each subject. This sum was accordingly paid him; and from that time to the present Mr. Abernethy has received neither his subjects nor his money.†

* This gentleman (Mister Butler) is now wholesale purveyor of subjects to the Webbe-street School: these *he imports from Ireland;* where, under the anti-catholic policy of Lords Liverpool and Eldon, famine and misery reign triumphant, and death revels to satiety. The price of a dead subject in London is from six to seven guineas: in Dublin from *half a crown to half a guinea* (see the newspapers, August last). Are there not in these facts new data for the political economist? and do they not speak volumes as to the actual and comparative state of the two countries?

† That like his friend and present employer, Sir Astley, Murphy cannot bear a rival near the throne, the following anecdote will testify:—Last year Mr. Green found the expence of paying the resurrection-men so heavy, that he declined furnishing the students with subjects for dissection, and intimated to them that they must take measures to supply themselves. Accordingly a committee of the seniors was formed for this purpose, and a fund provided, by each student being required to subscribe one guinea. This arrangement was not objected to by the juniors, but the senior students who had paid Mr. Green for what is termed a perpetual course, including dissections, were not altogether content with their lecturer's conduct. The committee, however, commenced its operations by applying to Murphy, who treated their overtures with supreme contempt. They were therefore compelled to become their own purveyors, and for this purpose entered into negociations with the watchmen and gravediggers of that vast storehouse for the medical profession, the Bethnal Green burying-ground. From these worthies they obtained one or two subjects, for which they were made to pay enormously. In pursuit of their honourable vocation, a deputation of the students' committee was in the habit of attending the burial-ground abovementioned, to watch and ascertain what interments

With this man, Mr. Green, one of the hospital surgeons of St. Thomas's, and until the recent separation, coadjutor of Sir Astley Cooper at that hospital, contracted for a certain number of subjects. In pursuance of this agreement, Murphy brought to the dissecting room of St. Thomas's two bodies, one of which Millard refused to receive from the state it was in (it was the corpse of an unfortunate child, which had been killed by the wheel of a coach or waggon passing over its head). Murphy would not leave one without the other, and consequently took both of them away with him. The next day Murphy acquainted Mr. Green with the circumstance, stating, that he had brought two subjects, which Millard had refused to receive: and in order to be more effectually revenged on Millard for his noncompliance, he added that there was no doubt Millard was in the interest of Mr. Grainger: an intimation which he knew of all others was the best calculated to excite the suspicion and to alarm the fears of Mr. Green. As we shall have occasion to advert again, more than once, to this gentleman (Mr. Grainger), we shall not apologize to our readers for giving some explanation respecting him; the more especially as it will tend to place the character of Sir Astley Cooper in a light in which it has not hitherto been generally viewed. Mr. Grainger was one of the students or pupils at St. Thomas's Hospital, but his application and his talents were such, that in a comparatively short time, from a student he became qualified to become the instructor of his fellow pupils, and in this capacity he was accustomed, occasionally, to demonstrate to them in the hospital; besides these services which he thus rendered them, he was sometimes in the habit of, what is professionally termed *grinding* the students: that is to say, of preparing those whose talents or whose industry were inferior to his own, for the ordeal of the examination they had to undergo previously to obtaining their certificate. About this time Sir Astley Cooper proposed that dissection

took place. On applying a second time to the watchmen, the latter, who had been schooled for the occasion by Murphy, insisted on receiving from the students ten guineas *before-hand*; this sum the students, with reluctance, paid. Whilst they were hovering about the burial-ground in anxious expectation of receiving the promised booty, Murphy's emissaries "snatched" the bodies which had been disinterred that day, and this king of the resurrection-men then went to make merry with the faithful guardians of the dead, at the expense of those whom they had thus duped. And thus ended the attempt of the students of St. Thomas's Hospital to become their own resurrection-men.

should be performed not only in the winter but during the summer, alleging as a reason, that what the students gained during the former period they lost in the latter. To this, however, Mr. Henry Cline objected, on the ground that the students required the summer vacation for the purpose of recruiting their health. Whilst this project was in contemplation, Mr. Grainger offered his services as demonstrator, in case summer dissections should be adopted. To which Sir Astley Cooper replied, that such an appointment could only be given to one who was a hospital apprentice, or in other words, to one who had paid him or his colleagues five hundred or a thousand guineas for that and a few other privileges. Mr. Grainger was therefore urged by his friends to open a private dissecting room, and to give lectures, as Sir Astley had rejected his offer. He accordingly engaged a room in St. Saviour's Churchyard, which was immediately attended by a great number of students. This circumstance, of course, did not escape the notice of Sir Astley and his colleagues at the hospital; and the feelings with which they viewed it may be conjectured from the steps which, in consequence, they immediately took. Shortly after Mr. Grainger had commenced his undertaking, Sir A. Cooper sent for Millard, and after conversing some time with him on the subject, concluded by saying, "Now, Millard, we must not allow this; we must *depose* this man: if he takes our students in the summer he will take them in the winter. Can't you find a place to build a room for summer dissections?" Millard mentioned a piece of ground adapted for the purpose, at the back of his residence, near St. Thomas's Hospital. Sir Astley desired that the place might be built immediately. In obedience to this direction it was forthwith erected, without any further agreement, at an expense of upwards of £200 to Mr. Millard. Here Mr. Morgan (son of the well known calculator), Mr. Key (a relative by marriage of Sir Astley Cooper), and Mr. Egerton, all hospital apprentices of Sir Astley Cooper, attended, with several others, and performed dissections. At the end of the first summer, Millard could obtain neither rent nor any other remuneration for the use of his premises, he therefore refused to admit them. When they found that his patience was exhausted, and that he would no longer submit to be imposed on, an arrangement was entered into, by which Mr. Morgan took a lease, exacting,

however, very rigorous conditions. After being informed of the abovementioned facts, the reader will not be surprised to learn, that Mr. Morgan has since endeavoured to evade the payment of the trifling sum which he stipulated to pay as rent for these premises, and has rendered it necessary to institute legal proceedings against him for the recovery of it.*

* To give an idea of the treatment which Mrs. Millard has experienced from some of the professors of St. Thomas's Hospital, since her husband's death, a single fact, which we shall relate, would be sufficient. One of the surgical assistants at St. Thomas's Hospital, named Colby, came to Mrs Millard, stating, that he had received the permission of Mr. Morgan to use the premises at the back of Mrs. Millard's residence, of which Mr. M. was the tenant, for the purposes of dissection. Mr. Colby accordingly, *having procured subjects*, attended and performed dissections occasionally. The last subjects he brought were the bodies of a man and a child; after having mangled them to his satisfaction, he placed a padlock on the door, and from that moment until the present has never been near the place. The remains of these bodies, as it will be easily conceived, soon became a mass of corruption; Mrs. Millard sent an earnest request to Mr. Colby to remove this nuisance, by which the health and the lives of her family, herself, and her neighbours, were endangered. To this request Mr. Colby paid *not the slightest attention*. The hot weather commenced, and the disgusting effects became every day more distressing to Mrs. Millard and her family. The room in which these putrifying remains had been left by Mr. Colby was situated over the wash-house, at the end of the yard belonging to Mrs. Millard's residence, and when she had occasion to use that outhouse for the purpose of washing, the maestes, or animalculæ, which are always engendered in animal substances in a state of putrefaction, frequently penetrating through fissures in the ceiling, *fell upon and around her!* Mrs. Millard sent repeatedly to Mr. Colby, imploring him to relieve her from this horrid nuisance; to which Mr. Colby paid as much attention as to her former requests of a similar nature. Mrs. Millard was a poor unprotected widow, and it was therefore a matter of perfect indifference to Mr. Colby whether she and her family were poisoned or not. After enduring the pestilential effects of these putrifying masses for several months, Mrs. Millard at length prevailed on Mr. Colby to give orders for their removal.

With reference to the legal proceedings against Mr. Morgan, alluded to in the preceding page, the reader will doubtless be pleased to learn, that since this narrative was prepared for the press, Mr. Morgan has been compelled to acknowledge the justice of Mrs. Millard's claim, by paying *the whole amount of debt and costs*, a few days only before the cause would have come on for trial. This was not done, however, until he had resorted in vain to every species of evasion, subterfuge, and falsehood, and he found that it would be impossible to exonerate himself in a court of justice from Mrs. Millard's just demand. To give an idea of the infatuation and knavery of this man, it will be merely necessary to mention, that he first resisted the claim upon the grounds that he had given up the use and occupation of the premises BEFORE MILLARD'S DEATH. That he next declared to his own attornies, that he had never executed the deed under which he has been compelled to pay the sum demanded of him! Again, when the action was settled, he requested a fortnight's time to pay the debts and costs, upon the pretext that he wished to look for a receipt for rent, which he suspected he had paid for the premises SINCE MILLARD'S DEATH; and, lastly, in collusion with

The laudable attempt on the part of Sir Astley Cooper and his colleagues to crush a young man of talent, in the person of Mr. Grainger, the reader will be pleased to hear, entirely failed. He continued to lecture, with great success, for three years, at the place we mentioned, until he removed, in 1821, to a theatre of anatomy in Webbe-street, of which he was the founder, and which has since become one of the most popular and distinguished schools of medicine in the metropolis. This highly-gifted young man died about two years since, and is supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to his love of science and his too ardent attention to his professional pursuits.* From the above statement it may be easily inferred, that an imputation of being in any the remotest degree favourable to Mr. Grainger, would, in the eyes of the professors of St. Thomas's, be the greatest crime which could be laid to the charge of any one in their employment. This charge, it will be almost needless to observe, with respect to Millard, was utterly destitute of foundation; and although Mr. Green never took the trouble to investigate it, there is every to believe that it had its intended effect on his mind. Some time previous to this, another occurrence took place, which, as it is illustrative of Millard's character, and will, in some measure, account for the subsequent treatment he received, it may not be improper to mention. During the contest between Sir Robert Wilson and Mr. Barclay for the representation of Southwark, in parliament, Mr. Nash, the steward of the hospital, applied to Millard, for his vote, in favour of Mr. Barclay. Millard informed him, that Sir Robert Wilson had *his* good wishes, and, after some further conversation, the steward intimated that his voting for any one but Mr. Barclay would be highly offensive to the treasurer. The reader, we believe, is aware that the

the attorney who has possession of Mrs. Millard's lease (through means which will be explained in the following pages), and with a view of distressing Mrs. Millard, he has insisted upon the very deed being given up to him; the existence of which he had but a few days before denied. Such is a specimen of the principles and conduct of this ornament to Guy's Hospital and to the medical profession.

* In paying this tribute of respect to the talents of the late Mr. Grainger, it is but fair to observe, that Mrs. Millard is actuated by no other motive but a sense of justice: since she never received the smallest aid from that gentleman; nor is she under the slightest obligation to his brother and successor, the present lecturer at the Webbe-street School of Anatomy; unless it be for allowing his assistant, Appleton, to circulate a statement *utterly destitute of truth*: namely, that Mrs. Millard has received pecuniary assistance from his master.

treasurer, for the time being of the hospital, is "sole "monarch of all he surveys:" he saith unto one do this, and he doeth it: unto another, go, and he goeth: and to a third come, and he cometh. In voting, therefore, for Sir Robert Wilson, as he subsequently did, in despite of the treasurer's wishes, Millard committed an overt act of rebellion against the authority of the former, which, as we shall find, was neither forgotten nor forgiven. Indeed, this independence of mind, of which the above is a specimen, was the besetting sin of poor Millard's character. Contented with a faithful and zealous discharge of his duties, and with the esteem and approbation of the students of the hospital where he was employed, and of an extensive circle of respectable acquaintance, he always neglected, and, probably, despised the recipe for rising in the world, so strongly recommended by Sir Pertinax Macsycophant. This naturally rendered him obnoxious to many of the underlings of St. Thomas's Hospital, both because it formed a painful contrast to their own conduct, and because Millard never cared to pay them that tribute of which is so grateful to base minds, and which, from long habit, they are accustomed to look upon as their right. Amongst these individuals the apothecary of the hospital distinguished himself for the enmity which he invariably manifested towards Millard. During the winter of 1821, Millard's health began to sink under the effects of a constant attendance on the dissecting room, and he experienced a most severe attack of illness. On recovering from his indisposition, he received an invitation from Sir Astley Cooper, to go down to his estate at Chevreuil to recruit his health, of which, however, he did not avail himself. He continued in a state of debility, and was on the point of proceeding to the sea side (by the urgent recommendation of the respectable gentleman who was the medical attendant of his family*) in the summer of 1822, when the storm, which had been gathering about him for some time past, at length burst, and, after thirteen years faithful services, he received an intimation from Mr. Green that his assistance would be no longer required at the hospital. When Millard waited on Mr. Green to settle his accounts, he took occasion to observe, that the manner of his discharge was rather extraordinary, and he wished to be informed whether it was in consequence of any dissatis-

* Mr. Kent.

faction he had given. Mr. Green replied, certainly not, but that Millard's removal was the result of some new arrangements they were about to make in the hospital, and that to convince Millard that they were sincere in this assurance, they were ready, at any future period, to furnish him with testimonials of good conduct, in case he should desire them. Shortly after leaving the hospital, Millard, being greatly esteemed by the students, was recommended by several of them to open a tavern for the accomodation of the medical gentlemen who attended the hospitals. The change of occupation, from a superintendant of a dissecting-room to a "purveyor of victual," will appear rather singular to many persons, but as medical gentlemen are never chargeable with extreme fastidousness, it would seem that no objection was ever raised by them on this point. Millard therefore opened an establishment of this description, which at the outset was warmly patronized by most of the leading men of St. Thomas's Hospital, including Mr. Green, Mr. Key, Mr. South, Mr. Bell the dentist, and many others. But there are few occupations except that of a sinecurist, which do not require some previous acquaintance to be able to practice them with any prospect of success; and poor Millard having no knowledge of the details of this business, was, in the course of a few months obliged to relinquish it at a loss of upwards of £300.

After this misfortune, Millard having a large family looking up to him for protection and support, determined to solicit Sir Astley Cooper, who had always expressed a high opinion of Millard's zeal and integrity whilst in the service of the Hospital, to obtain some appointment for him. He accordingly spoke to Mr. Bransby Cooper, who applied to his uncle, and Sir Astley immediately *promised* to exert his interest on Millard's behalf. The last time Millard waited on Sir Astley Cooper, this promise was repeated in the following terms "Now, my old boy, I shall be able to do something for you *very soon*, when I say soon, I mean three weeks or a month perhaps: we have a patient in the custom house through whose interest I expect to get you a good situation." From that period however poor Millard never after heard either of patient, custom-house, or situation. These losses and disappointments compelled Millard, although his health continued in a very precarious state, to engage himself with Mr. Grainger in a similar capacity to that in which he acted

when at St. Thomas's Hospital.* Whilst in the latter situation, and also when in the service of Mr. Grainger, Millard always found the London Hospital one of the most prolific sources to obtain subjects. In the spring of 1820 the professors at St. Thomas's were reduced nearly to a *state* of *starvation*: their own patients obstinately refused to die, and the resurrection-men had broken out into open rebellion. A note was therefore sent to the London Hospital, of which the following is a copy.

"St. Thomas's Hospital,
"1st May, 1820.

"DEAR SIR,

"Mr. Cooper and myself have been repeatedly obliged to you for subjects; will you confer another obligation by assisting us in our present distress.

"I remain, Dear Sir,
"Your's truly,
"HENRY CLINE, JUN.

"To R. C. HEADINGTON, Esq.
"Broad St.

Mr. Headington who is not less distinguished for his talents than for his politeness and liberality, of course paid immediate attention to this request, and sent back a *plentiful* supply to his distressed brethren. Shortly after, we believe, Millard had the pleasure of making a suitable acknowledgement to Mr. Headington for his kindness, by returning the favour. Cobley, the dissecting-room man at the London Hospital, came to St. Thomas's from Mr. Headington, with his compliments, requesting a young subject for the blood vessels, and said, we will either pay what it costs you, *or give you an adult in return.* Millard took the trouble of procuring a subject such as Mr. Headington desired, and received from him the sum of six guineas, being what Millard had paid for it. Subsequently when Millard obtained an adult from the London Hospital he carried the price, i. e. six guineas, to Mr. Headington in pursuance of the principle laid down by the latter; but as Mr. Headington makes, we believe, two or

* To shew the magnanimity of Sir Astley Cooper, and the noble feelings by which he was actuated towards a young rival professor, it will be sufficient to mention here, that shortly after Millard entered into the service of Mr. Grainger he (Millard) was cautioned by one of the police of the district, in which he resided, to be on his guard, as they had received information from a certain high quarter, that Millard was in the habit of accompanying Mr. Grainger, for the purpose of procuring subjects, and that orders had been given to the police, to apprehend both Millard and Mr. Grainger if possible, while thus engaged.

three thousand a year by his practice, he felt averse to receive the money, and desired Millard to give it to the men in the Hospital, that is to say, to Hurst, the surgeon's beadle, and the before-mentioned dissecting-room man; observing at the same time, that he did not intend to turn resurrection man. Millard replied, "Then, Sir, either you, or I, must turn resurrection man, if the price demanded for subjects continues so exorbitant." We believe, we have already apprized our readers, that the dissecting room of the London Hospital is *entirely* supplied by subjects, which have been their own patients: and that every facility may be afforded for this purpose, the dissecting room has a door opening into the burial ground of the Institution, where, those who have died in the Hospital are sometimes interred for the sake of appearances, and whence they may be easily transferred to the dissecting room, as occasion may require. During the winter, the professors of the London Hospital keep all who die, under their care, for *home consumption*; in the summer they have enough and some to spare; with which, as we have already stated, they accommodate their less fortunate brother professors. It must not be imagined however, that the students of the London Hospital revel in this abundance gratis. On the contrary, they pay their respectable purveyors, Hurst, the surgeon's beadle; and Cobley, the dissecting-room man before mentioned, the sum of six guineas, for each deceased patient, which they *resurrectionize*. This, we believe, is the average price in that quarter of the metropolis, for a "good subject," whether it be consumed in the aforesaid Hospital, or disposed of out of it. These little perquisites, form a source of no inconsiderable profit to this respectable pair; when they can meet with a ready sale for their perishable commodities. But that like all other speculators, and wholesale dealers, they are occasionally overstocked, will appear, by a note, of which the following is a copy.

"Whitechapel Road.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have taken the liberty of sending you this note, to inform you, we have a *very fine* subject that will *be done** to morrow if you are in want of one, I think

* Query. *Done* FOR to-morrow. If our emendation of the text be correct, it may be inferred that the subject was not then dead, and that they intended to dispatch him on the following day.

it will suit you. Will you have the goodness to send word in the course of to-morrow (Wednesday). I need not add, that those fellows* are very desperate of late, but we must (out) manœuvre them if you have it.

" Mr. Millard, " Your's, truly,
" June 23rd. 10 o'Clock. " J. W. COBLEY."

Again.

" SIR,

" I am requested by Mr. Hurst to inform you, we have a *very fine male subject*, which you can have, if you think proper to give the price; the abdomen and chest have been opened, consequently, the price will be three guineas, and not less; will you, therefore, send word by bearer or post, whether it will suit you.

" Mr. Millard. Neither signature nor date.†

It appears however that these two worthies, Hurst and Cobley, had a rival in Samuel Hicks, otherwise, Sam the barber, who is one of the porters and shaver to the hospital, or rather to its unfortunate inmates, and who, in consequence of not being allowed to " go snacks" with the before mentioned personages, was in the habit of favouring the depredations of those contrabandists, the resurrection men, by giving them timely notice of a patient's departure to the other world, and of his interment, *when he was interred*,‡ by lending them sacks and shovels occasionally, and by leaving open the gates of the hospital for their more convenient ingress and egress, during their nocturnal operations. This competition and rivalry gave rise, as might be expected, to much manœuvreing and generalship, to mining and countermining, in which a dexterity and knavery were sometimes exhibited, such as would have extorted applause even from a French courtier of the old regime.

In the summer of 1823, whilst Millard was in the service of Mr. Grainger, he saw Hurst, who informed him that they (the officers of the London Hospital) were about to bury two subjects, one of which had been so much mangled by the students, as to be of no value, as a subject for dissection; and the other, on the contrary, was a very

* The resurrection-men.

† The original letters, of which the above are copies, are now in Mrs. Millard's possession.

‡ Which, as we have intimated, was not always the case.

desirable one. He added, that as some of Sam's friends, the resurrection men, were on the look out, he should bury the perfect subject first, and place the mutilated one over it; that Sam's protegées, "fierce as ten furies," would, in all probability, seize on the first, and hurry off with it, without being aware of the state it was in, and would thus leave him the other, as a reward for his ingenuity, which he, of course would take care to remove before they could discover their mistake. We do not know what our readers will think of this plan, but we must candidly confess, that we considered it incomparably clever when it was narrated to us, and are convinced, that if Cardinal Richlieu, or Marshall Turenne had filled the situation of surgeon's beadle instead of Mister Hurst, having Sam the barber as a rival, they could not have hit upon a happier device. We have only to add that the statesmen-like plans of the surgeon's beadle were completely triumphant, and that Sam the barber and his lawless band were "bamboozled and baffled."

As the London Hospital, or rather the officers and managers of that establishment perform a conspicuous part in the occurrences we are now about to relate, it may not be unnecessary to communicate to our readers a few particulars respecting it.

In the first place we should mention that this institution is situated in the Whitechapel Road, and that it has been established about 70 years. It depends for support, we believe, entirely upon voluntary contributions, and, like other institutions of the same kind, is of extensive utility. Its affairs are controlled by a committee of the governors, who meet weekly, and its immediate management, if we are not misinformed, is entrusted to the Rev. Mr. Valentine, who is at once chaplain and resident governor. Of this gentleman we will only observe, that he is a strenuous advocate for the rights of the church, and the strict observance of decency, seldom permitting a deceased patient to be dissected *before* burial, as such a practice would obviously tend to diminish the fees for interment. This hospital reckons among its medical attendants some of the most eminent members of the profession, including Sir William Blizard, Mr. Headington, and Mr. Andrews. That this establishment is as much applied to the purposes of medical education, or in other words, is as much a school of anatomy as other hospitals, the reader has without doubt already collected from the preceding details. We need

not advert to the other distinguished personages belonging to this hospital, except to acknowledge the great services which they, that is to say, Mister Hurst, the redoubted Sam, the barber, their deputy and colleagues, Mr. Cobley, before mentioned, and Mister Ruddle, have rendered to the medical profession at large, by the plentiful supply of subjects, which, with a trifling emolument to themselves, they have furnished all those who applied for them. It should, however, be clearly understood that the surgeons of this establishment very rarely disturb the dead themselves after they have once been committed to the grave, excepting on some especial and very tempting occasion:—thus, Sir William Blizard once gave orders to the porters of the College of Surgeons to proceed to the burial ground of the London Hospital, and to "raise" a body for the purpose of securing the skeleton; but the body was that of a Zealander, and was curiously tattooed: what professor of eminence then, we would ask, could have withstood the temptation of possessing such a *rara avis?* It was well, however, Sir William Blizard did not personally superintend the process of disinterment, for had the patients surprised him at such an employment, he would doubtless have been seized, hurried off to a magistrate, and committed, perhaps, as a vagrant to the treadmill for three months.

But it is time for us to return to the unfortunate subject of our narrative, William Millard. It was about the latter end of the month of August, 1823, that Mister Hurst dispatched one of his emissaries to Millard, to inform him that another patient had just been released from his sufferings, and that after the Reverend Governor had performed his part in the drama of consigning "ashes to ashes, dust to dust," the said subject would, in consideration of the usual fee, be quite at Millard's service. Millard, accordingly, called on Mister Hurst, when it was agreed that he should come on the following evening to superintend the removal of the subject in question: happy would it have been for Millard had he imitated the prudence of Sir William Blizard, and had employed an agent to do that which he could not perform without hazard to himself. He went, however, and had scarcely entered the precincts of the grounds attached to the London Hospital, than he was beset and seized by a number of patients and police officers, headed by the formidable Sam, the barber. The poor fellow, thus entrapped, was immediately hurried off to the Worship

Street Police Office, where he was charged with the atrocious crime of being found in, or near, the premises of the London Hospital, and of refusing to account, to the satisfaction of his accusers, for being there. The magistrate was on the point of holding Millard to bail, when, in consequence of some private communication which he received during the examination, this sapient dispenser of justice, under the powers given by Chetwynd's ever infamous Vagrant Act, committed the unfortunate man for three months to the House of Correction in Cold Bath Fields. Against this decision a few days after, an appeal was entered to the Quarter Sessions, and on going before the magistrate* who had committed Millard, the following observations were made by the former: "Are you the man I committed on Saturday last?"—"I am, sir."—"Well, the *London Hospital have taken all the responsibility off my hands;* but, if they wish well to their school of anatomy, they will let this matter drop!" If any one thing more than another could prove the urgent necessity for some such legislative enactment as that recently introduced by Mr. Peel, to prevent the appointment of ignorant and incompetent magistrates, we think it must be conduct such as above described. Such proceeding requires no comment; but for a magistrate to be holding private communication with the powerful accusers of an humble individual, and then, under their influence, to inflict a severe punishment in opposition to his own judgment, presents as glaring an instance of magisterial stolidity, if not of corruption, as any that has yet been brought under the notice of the public. We must here detain the reader for a moment to relate a circumstance, which, although not of great importance, ought not to be passed over, as it tends to afford a further developement of the character of Millard's former friend and employer, and the general treatment which he experienced at the hands of the latter. On Millard's arrival in prison, under the first commitment, he informed the surgeon of the prison, a Mr. Webbe, that he (Millard) had been in the service of Sir Astley Cooper many years. This surgeon, it appears, holds a kind of "divisum imperium" with the governor of the prison to which he is attached, and can give an order to any of the prisoners whom he wishes to indulge, although they may be in good health, for admission into the Infirmary, which, instead of subjecting them to the hard fare and

* A Mr. Wyatt.

rigorous discipline of a house of correction, leaves them in possession of a comparative degree of liberty and comfort. Mr. Webbe, therefore, on learning that Millard had held a confidential situation under Sir Astley Cooper for many years, gave orders forthwith, for his admission into the Infirmary. Mr. Webbe, it appears, took the pains to enquire immediately into the truth of Millard's statement, respecting his employment by Sir Astley Cooper, and on the following morning he came to Millard, and addressed him in a style, which, it must be confessed, for a person presiding over the House of Correction was not "quite "correct," but which was excusable, however, when it is considered that it was spoken under feelings of irritation which most men experience when they believe themselves to have been imposed on. "Mr. Millard," said he, "you "have told me a damned infernal lie, Sir Astley Cooper "says he does not know anything of you!!!" When it is considered that Millard had for thirteen years been in the service and in habits of daily intercourse with Sir Astley Cooper, that during this period, and subsequently, the latter had always spoken in terms of approbation of his conduct, such behaviour will, doubtless, appear to every one equally honourable and magnanimous. The memory of Mr. Green was not, however, so defective as that of his colleague, Sir Astley Cooper, and he therefore called on Millard almost immediately after he heard of his committal to prison. He remained with Millard a considerable time, and was conducted by Mr. Vickery, the governor of the prison, into the Infirmary, to be informed of the advantages which Millard enjoyed in being admitted to that part of the prison. In the course of this interview, Mr. Vickery made an observation, which we repeat, because it may shew the estimation in which Millard was held, and to confirm what will, subsequently, appear more evident, that the professors of St. Thomas's were become sensible of the value of Millard's services, and were anxious to withdraw him from their young but talented rival, Mr. Grainger, whose establishment was going on most prosperously. "Now, Mr. Millard," (said the governor of the prison) "if Mr. Green *should* interest "himself for you, and procure your liberation, he will, of "course, expect a return." Millard replied, that of course he should feel deeply the obligation he was under to any one who procured him his liberty, and that he should take every means of acknowledging it. Mr. Grainger, however,

was too acute, and too much on the alert, to allow his powerful rivals to obtain any claim of this kind on one whom he had found, since he had taken him into his service, so faithful and zealous. He, therefore, without any communication with Millard, entered a notice of appeal against the decision of the magistrate, or rather it may be said of the London Hospital, at Worship Street, and procured Millard's liberation on bail. It would seem, therefore, from these circumstances, that there arose a kind of competition between Mr. Grainger and his rivals, the professors at St. Thomas's Hospital, as to who should obtain a title to Millard's future services, by procuring him his liberty. Soon after his liberation on bail, Millard called on Sir W. Blizard to represent the harshness and injustice of the proceedings which the London Hospital had instituted against him on this occasion. Sir W. Blizard observed, "we must not have things taken away; *we shall be very "happy to accommodate any lecturer who may be in "want of our assistance*, but we must not have things "taken away by force." In answer to this Millard replied, that the professors of the other hospitals were fully sensible of Sir W. Blizard's courtesy, and of the liberality which rendered the burial ground of that hospital "a very present help in time of trouble" to all professors who were distressed for subjects. But at the same time he assured Sir William Blizard that he (Millard) had never taken a single subject from the London Hospital for which the officers of that institution had not had "*value received;*" that these persons considered the bodies of the patients who died there as their lawful prey, and the money derived from the sale of them as their regular and permitted perquisites; that this was not only known to the superior officers of the London Hospital, but was recognised and sanctioned by them, and that a prosecution against him by the managers of that Institution for the pretended offence of taking away bodies which were, by their connivance, regularly bought and sold, was at once unjust, cruel, hypocritical, and treacherous. Millard then left Sir William Blizard, with the hope that his remonstrances had not been ineffectual.

This impression was confirmed by a visit which he subsequently received from Hurst, the surgeon's beadle of the London Hospital, who called under the pretext of congratulating Millard on his liberation, and who took great pains to convince Mrs. Millard, (Millard himself

being from home) that it was NOT the intention of the London Hospital to proceed further with the prosecution. This same assurance was repeated to Millard from various quarters, so that there are strong reasons for presuming that the managers of that Institution, in addition to their other generous and open-handed proceedings, set this report on foot in order to inveigle this unfortunate man into a dangerous security, and thus have him helpless and exposed to the efforts of their hostility. Influenced by these reports and assurances, he deferred giving instructions to the attorney employed for his defence, and, in consequence, had to labour under all the disadvantages of haste, and of being taken by surprise.

The appeal came on for hearing before the magistrates of the quarter sessions, at Hicks's Hall, on the 11th of September, 1823. Mr. Law was employed as counsel by the London Hospital to support the conviction, and Mr. Adolphus was retained for the defence. The result was, that the conviction was confirmed, and that poor Millard was finally committed to the House of Correction for three months, under the infamously celebrated vagrant act. Of this act it will here be needless to say any thing, since it was at the time equally condemned by the counsel for the prosecution and the defence, and has since been expunged from the statute book, by the universal feeling of reprobation which it excited in the public mind. Up to the very moment of the appeal coming on for hearing, Millard, it appears, was deluded into the persuasion that the London Hospital would not urge the prosecution. The shock he experienced on being undeceived, the severity with which he was treated on the hearing of the appeal, and the insults and outrages he experienced from the populace, at the instigation of the patients and subordinate officers of the London Hospital, weighed so heavily on his mind, that he became seriously ill on his return to prison, and in a short time after took to his bed, from which he never again rose alive. Some time after the unfortunate Millard's imprisonment and death, the police of the Whitechapel district, who were not acquainted with the manner in which things are managed in the London Hospital (that is to say), being like the public unaware that the professors were in the constant habit of supplying their dissecting rooms with the bodies of their deceased patients, and of allowing the inferior servants of the hospital to sell the remainder; the

police being ignorant of these circumstances, considered it their duty to be on the alert, and to apprehend all who might be engaged in removing dead bodies from their place of interment. They at length took into custody two individuals, who were found at night IN the burial ground of the London Hospital, and conveyed them to the Police Office: but the same influence which induced the upright magistrate of that office to sentence the unfortunate Millard to three months imprisonment in the House of Correction, for being found NEAR this spot, led him immediately to dismiss these offenders, without punishment or reproof! These men, on being discharged, *returned to the burial ground of the London Hospital, proceeded to open the grave on which they were found when interrupted by the police, and carried the body into the dissecting-room of the hospital.* After the relation of this fact, it will be needless to adduce any further proof of the motives which instigated the prosecutions against Millard, and of the influence exercised over the magistrates of that quarter by his prosecutors.

Shortly after Millard's last commitment to prison, his wife applied for permission to see him, but was refused, as the rules of the prison only admitted of her seeing her husband once a month! Mrs. Millard was recommended to apply to the magistrates at Hatton Garden, and at the Town Hall, Southwark, for an order to be allowed to see her husband, but after being referred from place to place, it was invariably refused. Her only means of communicating with him, and of ascertaining the state of his health, was to place a note in the clean linen, which she sent twice a week to the prison, and to which she sometimes received an answer; in one of these communications he requested his wife to call on the different practitioners of eminence to whom he was known, and to solicit their interference to procure his liberation. She accordingly waited on a gentleman of high estimation in the profession, who received her with the utmost kindness, and after being made acquainted with the circumstances, advised an application to be made to Sir Astley Cooper; but added, by way of advice, "above all, Mrs. Millard, say not a word to Sir Astley about Grainger; he would be ready to hang your husband if he thought he had any thing to do with that young man; Sir Astley would give £10,000 if he could ruin Grainger." Mrs. Millard accordingly proceeded to Sir Astley Cooper, from whom, however, she obtained neither consolation nor relief. She

then proceeded to wait on Mr. Green, by whom she was received with sullen incivility, and with whom she was equally unsuccessful, and at length returned home almost broken-hearted. After the lapse of a few days, she received a message from Sir Astley Cooper, desiring her to call on him. He then made some observations, rather calculated to wound than to soothe her feelings, and concluded by offering to subscribe £10 towards the relief of herself and family. He at the same time recommended Mrs. Millard to call on the different lecturers of eminence, mentioning Mr. Green, Mr. Stanley, and Mr. Headington; although, he added, "I don't suppose they will give you any thing, but you can try." In this, it appears, Sir Astley was not very much mistaken. For on seeing Mr. Green, he humanely remarked, I certainly have known you and your husband many years, and as Sir Astley Cooper has put down his name for £5, I suppose I must do the same; *but you cannot want the money now, come to me therefore when you do want it.*" This money Mrs. Millard never received. Mrs. Millard then proceeded to Mr. Stanley, who treated her better than the gentleman who "had known her and her husband many years;" for unlike Mr. Green, he promised nothing and gave nothing, and therefore did not break his word. She then waited on Sir William Blizard, who followed the example of the last mentioned gentleman; and by Mr. Headington she was told to call the next day. The next day she again went to the London Hospital, and there received from Mr. Lukes, as the representative, it is presumed, of Mr. Headington, the sum of £5:5. This person at the same time informed Mrs. Millard, "that it was not from any vindictive motives that they had prosecuted her husband, BUT only TO LET THE PUBLIC SEE THAT WHAT THEY BURIED WAS SECURE!" These trifling contributions, and such observations as the above, were then the sole result of the liberality of these wealthy and powerful individuals, after Mrs. Millard had for several successive days been traversing London from one end to another. To complete the measure of her affliction, on her returning home, exhausted with fatigue and distress of mind, this unfortunate woman found she had no longer a place which she could claim as a home for herself and her children: a sheriff's officer had taken possession of the house and furniture during her absence, under the authority of process from the exchequer. It seems that her husband,

whilst in the service of the hospital, had become security for the appearance of two resurrection-men, who had been apprehended, when employed by the professors of St. Thomas's, for the purpose of supplying them with subjects. In consequence of some neglect of the attorney who was employed by the hospital in this business,* and of the severe and arbitrary nature of this branch of legal process, which operates as a kind of trap to all those who have the misfortune to be in any way concerned in it, an execution was, as we have stated, issued against Millard, after the business had been allowed to sleep SIX YEARS! Mrs. Millard immediately called on Mr. Green, to make known to him the melancholy situation in which she was placed; and after waiting two or three hours, until he had finished his dinner, he at length condescended to see her. When informed of what had happened, he humanely observed, "that he believed it was some damned trick to impose on him;" and at last, with great difficulty, was prevailed on to write to the attorneys,† who had been employed by the hospital before upon the business, and whose duty it was to have prevented these distressing consequences.‡

About a fortnight after his committal to prison, Millard sent a note to his wife, desiring to have some coffee, sugar, and butter: these Mrs. Millard furnished him with; at the same time rejoicing in the belief of his being well, and permitted to enjoy these little comforts; in addition to these articles, with the affection which has marked her conduct throughout in studying and anticipating the wishes of her husband, Mrs. Millard made a small fruit pie, to which she knew he was partial, and sent it at the same time. In a day or two after Mrs. Millard received an incoherent note which had been begun several times, entreating her to send no more things of that kind, as they reminded him too strongly

* Sherwood and Son, of Canterbury Square.

† Sherwood and Son.

‡ Few who read this account of Mr. Green's behaviour to Mrs. Millard, would credit that when her poor husband held his appointment in St. Thomas's Hospital, he was on terms of the utmost cordiality, and even intimacy, with Mr. Green: that the latter used often to acknowledge his esteem for Millard, and to boast that Millard had introduced his first patient to him. Still less will it be believed, that this same person whom Mr. Green, at a period of deep distress, treated with such unprovoked and unmerited contumely, had always previously experienced conduct of a directly opposite character. Amongst other proofs of which, not the least remarkable was a participation in the customary presents that were distributed by Mr. Green and his lady among their friends, on the celebration of their marriage.

of that home, to which, he felt persuaded, he was never to return. On the following Saturday, when the child went to the prison on his usual errand, to carry the clean linen, he brought back a scrap of paper from his father, written in a faultering and almost illegible hand, in which poor Millard entreated his wife "to send him a pillow to lay his unfortunate head on." This was the first intimation Mrs. Millard received of her husband's illness. She immediately renewed her attempts to obtain permission to see him; at last she received an order from the Lambeth Police Office, and was admitted on what is denominated in the prison "a call day," or the day on which the wretched inmates are allowed, at monthly intervals, to see their friends and relatives. On entering the prison, and enquiring for her husband, she was informed he was ill in the infirmary, and that she must apply to Mr. Webbe, the surgeon. To Mr. Webbe she therefore applied, and by him was told to come the next day. She entreated to be allowed to see him immediately: in answer to which he desired her "not to be unconscionable"! Mrs. Millard then enquired whether her husband was in any danger:—this humane person replied by asking, whether a man could not have a head-ache without being in danger? (a week after this the unfortunate Millard expired.) He alleged no reason for refusing to allow her to see her sick husband, and in all probability had none, excepting his own caprice and utter want of feeling. On the following day Mrs. Millard was, by virtue of this man's order, admitted to her husband; she found him, as she had been informed on the preceding day, on a sick bed. To her surprise he told her to take the duplicate of his watch from his pocket. "Good God!" observed Mrs. Millard, "I was informed that money was of no use to you here, and I see your watch has been pledged in addition to two pounds which I sent you."—"Indeed," he replied, "money is of as much use here as elsewhere; nothing can be done here without it: *I was compelled to pay the doctor a guinea for admission into this place!*" The reader will probably not feel surprised after what has already been stated, respecting this individual, at such a flagitious act of extortion: this, however, disgraceful as it is, weighs but as a feather in the balance compared with his subsequent conduct. Poor Millard finally enjoined his wife to hasten to Sir Astley Cooper and Mr. Green, and to entreat them to procure his release from that place of

misery; for if he remained there much longer he knew he could not survive. Mrs. Millard immediately went to Mr. Green, at his residence in Lincoln's-inn Fields; her reception was similar to the treatment she had before experienced from that gentleman, that is to say, abrupt, morose, and unfeeling. On Mrs. Millard's describing the condition of her poor husband, he observed that the infirmary was "a very nice place," and Mr. Webbe "a very nice man!" and that he had no doubt Millard would do very well there: he added, "for his part he did not know what business Millard had out, he might have stopped there!" that is to say, Mr. Green was *surprised* that Millard should have presumed to leave his place of confinement on bail, and endeavour to rescue himself from the horrors of a prison, to which he had been unjustly and unwarrantably condemned. The above humane and rational remarks were the only result of Mrs. Millard's application to the *humanity* of Mr. Green.

Mrs. Millard then proceeded to Sir Astley Cooper, and represented to him the state her husband was in. After asking a few questions, he penned a note to the Secretary of State; the purport of which, was, that a man was then in confinement in the House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields, *for being found near the burial ground of the London Hospital!* That without such men science would perish; that this individual was dangerously ill, and therefore appealed to the humanity of the Secretary of State, to release him. In this note, the reader will observe, that Sir Astley Cooper speaks of the individual in whose favour he applies, as of one of the common resurrection men; and that he cautiously conceals the fact, of the unfortunate Millard's having held a confidential situation under him, for many years, and that, by his zeal, and integrity, while in the service of Sir Astley, he had entitled himself to the particular approbation of his employers. Mrs. Millard, although she felt deeply wounded, at hearing her husband treated in a manner so different to what she had a right to expect, thankfully received this note, which she hoped, would procure the liberation of her husband from the den of misery in which he was immured, and from "the tender mercies" of such a being, as the surgeon of the jail. Sir Astley Cooper appreciating the capacity of this latter individual, enquired of Mrs. Millard, whether her husband had any other medical advice besides that of Mr. Webbe? on being informed that he had not, Sir Astley Cooper wrote

to Dr. Farr, requesting the favour of his attending Millard. This gentleman, we believe, lost not a moment on the receipt of the note in proceeding to the prison, and arrived in time to ascertain, and to inform Sir Astley, that the poor sufferer was past all hopes of recovery. On the following day, Mrs. Millard went to the prison, and found her husband *apparently* much better. Dr. Farr had ordered him some port wine and sago. Mrs. Millard enquired of the attendant in the Infirmary, whether it would be necessary for her to procure these articles, as she would do so immediately? he replied, it was not necessary, as such things were always provided by the doctor (Mr. Webbe) out of funds entrusted to him, for such purposes.

The next morning, Mrs. Millard proceeded again to visit her husband; on enquiring how he was of the turnkey, the latter replied, he was sorry to say, that poor Millard was much worse: the same answer was given to a similar enquiry of another attendant in the prison, with a request, not to display any alarm, as it might lead to fatal consequences. The unfortunate man was strongly agitated, on again seeing his wife, but at length became a little composed; Mrs. Millard enquired, whether he had taken the port wine and sago prescribed by Dr. Farr? He replied that it had never been brought to him, adding, "No, my dear, I am *quite lost; we are shut up here at five o'clock in the afternoon, and no one comes near us until eight or nine in the morning.*" Such is the wretched condition of those, entrusted to the care of this ornament to human nature, and to his profession, the surgeon of the county prison. On meeting this individual a few moments after, and expressing her fears that her unfortunate husband was dying, he humanely replied, that Millard *was always worse after seeing her*, and that *both she and her husband had been treated with a great deal too much indulgence.* Mrs. Millard then entreated to be allowed to remain with her husband, as there was every reason to believe, that he would not survive that night; the reader will scarcely believe that such a request was refused, although it had been granted to others frequently, and in two instances to convicted felons, whose friends were permitted to attend them, and allowed to remain with them until they died.

On Mrs. Millard's leaving the prison, she hastened with faultering steps to the house of a friend in the neighbour-

hood, and overcome with the scene she had just witnessed, and by the savage inhumanity with which she had been driven from the bedside of her dying husband, she fell senseless on the threshold of the door; as soon as the kind attention of her friend had restored her to her senses, and she had recovered strength enough to get into a coach, she desired to be taken to St. Thomas's Hospital, where she implored the professors in whose service her unfortunate husband had spent so many years, to visit him, and try to save his life. This they promised to do, and one of them called on the following day to acquaint her, that there was but remote hope of his recovery, and that the anxiety and agitation under which he laboured on account of his family were alone enough to destroy him! On Monday Mrs. Millard left her bed, to which her anxiety and distress of mind had confined her, to proceed to Sir Astley Cooper. On seeing her, he informed her that a letter had JUST ARRIVED* from the Secretary of State. This letter which he put into her hands, contained an order for her husband's release, but required previously a certificate from the surgeon of the prison, confirming Sir Astley Cooper's representation, that the prisoner's life was in danger. Mrs. Millard flew to the prison, and delivered this letter to Mr. Webbe, who, on reading it observed, "This comes too late, he is too far gone for it to be of any service." Mrs. Millard then entreated to be allowed to see her husband, which he refused, by delicately telling her she might as well cut his throat! She urged her request with all the earnestness which might be expected from one who had already displayed such warm and unwearied affection towards her unfortunate husband. At length this person pretended to consent, but stated that he must first visit Millard himself; during his temporary absence she sent the child she had with her from the surgeon's house, which is adjoining, round to the prison gates for his father's linen, and one of the attendants then told the child that his father had expressed an earnest wish to see him. Shortly after, the surgeon returned to inform Mrs. Millard that she could *not* be allowed to see her husband: on hearing this, she entreated him to comply with the wish expressed by her poor husband to see his child before he expired. This petition was also peremptorily denied. In the course of

* Mrs. Millard has since learned that this letter had been *two days* in his possession!

the same night this injured man, alone, unattended, without a friend or a human being to close his eyes, was released by death from his sufferings. Of the behaviour of the surgeon of the prison we cannot trust ourselves to speak, for we find it unable to express adequately the abhorrence we feel at his inhuman conduct, in thus preventing this unfortunate and innocent man from taking leave of his wife and child in his dying moments.*

The almost incessant state of anxiety and agitation in which Mrs. Millard had been kept, by successive calamities, for some weeks past, began to produce the effects which might be naturally expected. She had been reduced to an extreme state of mental and bodily exhaustion, when the last and greatest of her afflictions, the loss of her husband, was communicated to her. She sent for the body, for the purpose of paying the only remaining tribute of affection to his remains. After he had been committed to the grave, the state of her health and of her mind was such as to excite apprehension in the few friends, who still commiserated and sympathised with her, that her mind was or would be affected by the sufferings she had undergone, as she remained in a kind of stupor for several days. We should not omit to state, that at this period there were several medical students lodging in the house, one of whom having, in consequence of his misconduct, been discarded by his family, had become the *âme damnée*, or agent for dirty work, to Sir Astley Cooper and the other professors of St. Thomas's Hospital. This individual, and two brothers of the same stamp, named Lee, were extremely averse to having the body of poor Millard brought home for interment. They resorted to every species of invective and insult to deter Mrs. Millard from her intention; and when they found she was not to be shaken, the two latter took the following mode of expressing their dissatisfaction. On that day, which in a Christian country is by most persons held sacred, whilst the dead body of this man, who had always treated them with attention and kindness, was

* Some time after this melancholy event, the wardsman of the prison infirmary of Cold Bath Fields, who is the attendant of the sick inmates of that prison, called on Mrs. Millard in compliance, as he said, with the dying request of her husband. This individual stated, that poor Millard begged him to inform his wife how bitterly he felt the prohibition to see her and his child before he expired, although he was assured it was not for want of any exertion on her part to obtain admission to him; and that his last prayers were, that God would bless and protect her and her helpless family.

stretched out, but a few yards from them; whilst the widow, worn down by sorrow and suffering, was extended on a bed of sickness, and the wreck of her property was held by the relentless grasp of the law (for the sheriff's officers, under the exchequer process, were still in possession), these humane and promising young men invited and entertained a party of their friends, with smoking, drinking, singing, and carousing! We should not omit to mention, that the execution was issued against Millard from the exchequer for three forfeited recognizances. Two of them, we have already stated, were entered into by him on behalf of two men, who had been apprehended whilst employed by the professors of St. Thomas's Hospital in endeavouring to procure subjects for them; the third recognizance was given on behalf of a young student who had been engaged in some affray with a watchman, and who applied to Millard to become security for his appearance at the sessions; the affair had been accommodated some months before, and the proper steps had been taken, and the usual fees paid, to put an end to the business; in consequence, however, of the neglect of the clerk of the peace, execution was issued against the person and goods of poor Millard: as the all-merciful hand of the law had already got his person within its grasp, it proceeded to seize his goods under the circumstances we have related. The attorneys, Sherwood and Son, of Canterbury Square, and their employers, the professors of St. Thomas's, after having proceeded with the most methodical slowness to remove the executions issued against Millard as security for the two men who had been employed by the Hospital, very humanely left his widow to get rid of the third by herself; so that during the whole period that her husband's body was lying in the house previous to interment, the officers were in possession under the exchequer process. The last execution was at length removed by the exertions of a friend. Before concluding this part of our narrative, we must not omit to mention one act of kindness and humanity which Mrs. Millard experienced from a quarter in which she had the least reason to expect it. The sheriff's officer, whose name we believe was Rutland, although accustomed of course, from the very nature of his occupation to scenes of distress, touched by the melancholy situation of Mrs. Millard, and sensible of the unfeeling and unprincipled conduct of which she and her husband had

been the victims, offered to return the fees which he had received from her under the execution; in case she should not be reimbursed by those who in a great measure were responsible for this and all her other afflictions, that is to say, the Professors of St. Thomas's Hospital.

In order to recover the money which they had paid on account of the *two* forfeited recognizances, Mr. Green and Sir A. Cooper, by their attornies, Sherwood and Son, prepared a statement of Mrs. Millard's case, in which they fully described the melancholy condition of herself and her family: with this statement they proceeded to the Court of Exchequer, where, under the direction of these attornies, Mrs. Millard made an affidavit of the truth of the facts detailed in it before Baron Garrow, who treated her with the utmost tenderness and humanity. By these honest means they recovered, in THE NAME of MRS. MILLARD, the whole of the money from government, to the amount of £40, which had been paid on the forfeited recognizances, besides £12 for the expenses which had been incurred by the issue of the exchequer process. When Mrs. Millard applied to Mr. Sherwood for the fees which she had been compelled to pay the sheriff's officer on leaving the house, Mr. S. made the greatest difficulties in complying with her request, and when he found there was no possible pretext for refusing it, he endeavoured to persuade her that his employers, Sir A. Cooper and Mr. Green, were acting with unparalleled generosity in reimbursing her this sum which they had previously obtained from government in her name!* To complete an idea of the character of this worthy prototype of Gilbert Glossin, we will only add that he owes all the legal business which he derives from St. Thomas's Hospital, forming a considerable and lucrative portion of his practice, to poor Millard, who first employed him, and then recommended him to the professors and officers of that establishment.

* When poor Millard was put on his trial, which ended in his imprisonment and death, he entrusted the lease of his premises and other papers to Mr. Sherwood, to produce on the hearing of the appeal, in order to prove that he could not be considered an object of the Vagrant Act, as being a respectable house-holder. Previous to this, a bill had been incurred and placed to Millard's account, for defending two *resurrection-men employed by the professors of St. Thomas's Hospital.* Instead, therefore, of returning these leases, which he had formerly been employed and PAID for preparing, the worthy practitioner of the law nobly and generously withholds them from the widow of poor Millard, until his claim for defending the resurrection-men is satisfied!

We must now introduce to the notice of the reader an individual, who, at the period of the events which we have been describing, had not emerged from the obscurity to which nature seemed to have destined him, but who has subsequently acquired that notoriety which is usually attendant on those who become amenable to the laws. We allude to the compiler and manager of one of the cheap publications which have sprung up so abundantly within these few years, and which is called The Lancet. This person was originally educated, we understand, for the medical profession, and subsequently attempted to practice as a surgeon, but after having had recourse, unsuccessfully, to this and to other means, an idea of which may be formed from the account of trial which will be found at the termination of these pages, he, fortunately for himself, projected the publication called the Lancet. This work, it will be hardly necessary to inform our readers, is almost entirely a compilation, and by means of pirating the productions of the different eminent lecturers, managed to procure an extensive circulation, until the practice was put a stop to by the public spirit and perseverance of Mr. Abernethy. We have only to add that Mr. Wakley, for such is the name of this personage, has been convicted of a malignant libel on a highly respectable member of the medical profession, and we believe we shall have stated most, if not all his claims to public estimation.

During Millard's imprisonment, Mr. Wakley called on Mrs. Millard for the purpose, as he stated, of learning the particulars of her husband's case: on this occasion he expressed himself deeply interested in Millard's behalf, condemned the defence which had been made for him, and intimated, that his (Millard's) counsel had sold him, adding, that from what he had to do with counsel, he knew too well what they were. The imputation on Millard's counsel, is too absurd to merit a moment's notice. Wakley's enmity to counsel we think we shall be able to account for hereafter. He then proceeded to inform Mrs. Millard that a publication was then forthcoming, (i. e. The Lancet) in which, himself and several very clever men were engaged, and that he would take care to expose and hold up Millard's prosecutors to the contempt and odium they deserved; he requested Mrs. Millard to collect all the information she could on the subject, expressing at the same time, his strong sense of Millard's services to the profession, and his

abhorrence of the cruelty and ingratitude with which Millard had been treated. "Good God!" said he, "why, was there no one to come forward and speak on his behalf? I am sure there are fifty of the most respectable practitioners in, and near London, who would have done so. Where were Cooper and Green, his old employers, who offered on his leaving their service, to furnish him with testimonials of good conduct whenever he should require them? Why did not they come forward, or why were they not subpœnaed?" After making this display of friendly zeal and warm sympathy, he took his leave for the purpose of visiting Millard in prison, to whom Mrs. Millard had referred him.

He called again whilst the body of poor Millard was lying in the house preparatory to its interment, and on being informed of the circumstances of his death, appeared surprised, and shocked beyond measure, exclaiming "Good God, they have murdered him! Has Mrs. Millard had his body opened?"* Shortly after, the first number of the Lancet appeared, in which, among the notices to correspondents, the following appeared. "E. Z. may rest assured that Sir Billy Fretful shall receive a pretty sharp cut from the Lancet, for his unrelenting conduct to Mr. Millard." By Sir Billy Fretful was meant, Sir William Blizard; and E. Z. like most of the other correspondents to the Lancet, was an address of the Editor to himself. Mr. Wakley called subsequently on Mrs. Millard several times, when he repeated his friendly professions, and his request for all possible information respecting Millard's case. He stated, it was his intention to commence a subscription, by opening books at the different bankers, and *putting down a few fictitious subscribers* as decoys to the "truly charitable and humane," an idea, which to us, appears equally novel and ingenious, and quite worthy of the projector. He also intimated, that he should again

* It will, perhaps, be worth while to advert, with reference to this subject, to a rather singular inquiry, made by Sir A. Cooper, on one occasion subsequent to poor Millard's death. "Pray, Mrs. Millard, did your "husband ever say any thing to you ABOUT HIS BEING POISONED, when "in the Infirmary?" Mrs. Millard replied that he did not. Sir A. C. continued—"for he said something to this effect when my nephew visited "him; but it was, perhaps, nothing but the effects of a disordered mind." On this point we are rather inclined to agree with Sir Astley Cooper than with the Editor of the Lancet. The persecutors of the unfortunate man were fully aware that cruelty and neglect were as efficacious and a much less hazardous mode of hastening his death than that of administering poison!

notice Millard's case in the next week's Lancet: accordingly in the succeeding number* the following notice to a fictitious correspondent as before. "Notice to Correspondents.—B. Z. U. is much deceived, if he imagines, we have forgotten the cruel treatment of the late Wm. Millard. We shall very shortly investigate this affair most fully, and if we should succeed in getting into our possession some original letters and documents which we understand are in existence, they shall, at an early period, be presented to our professional brethren. We feel confident, that the particulars of this extraordinary transaction, will excite the greatest disgust and indignation." In this conjecture, we believe, Mr. Wakley, you are not much mistaken. But whatever may be the feelings excited in the public and the medical profession by a statement of Millard's case, they cannot exceed the "disgust and indignation" which will be felt at your conduct, when they are informed, that from the period of your publishing this announcement, that is to say, so soon as the object of intimidation which you had in view was answered, you never took a single step to clear the character of the much-injured man, whose cause you *volunteered* to *advocate*, or rendered the slightest assistance of any kind to his widow, and her destitute family.

The secret of this conduct on the part of the compiler of the Lancet may be explained in a very few words. Mr. Wakley, about this period, had commenced the system of pirating the lectures of the different eminent professors, and among the rest those of Sir Astley Cooper. It is a well known fact, that this surreptitious publication of the productions of these distinguished practitioners enabled many of the students to dispense with the trouble and expense of attending the lectures; the consequence was, a diminution of the number of the students, and consequently a serious reduction in the emolument of the lecturers. Sir Astley Cooper stated, that he considered himself a loser to the amount of £500 per annum by the fraudulent publication of *his* lectures, besides the inconvenience and annoyance of having his productions communicated to the public without their having undergone the revision, which may not be necessary in oral discourses, but which is indispensible before submitting any work to the public eye. The annoyance of the medical lecturers generally at this new

* No. 12, Vol. I., December 21st, 1823.

mode of being robbed of the fruits of their talents and labours may be easily conceived. The object, therefore, of the respectable compiler of the Lancet was to intimidate Sir Astley, and his colleagues of St. Thomas's Hospital, into a quiet submission to this appropriation of their lectures. In this, by holding up the case of poor Millard to them *in terrorem*, he entirely succeeded. So that Sir Astley Cooper, after expressing himself in terms of the strongest aversion and contempt of the compiler of the Lancet, condescended to court his acquaintance, and to enter into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with this "outcast of the medical profession."

Being now left in a state of complete destitution, with a family of young and helpless children, the widow of the unfortunate Millard began to look around her for some means of support. Finding that she received neither the promised call or communication from Mr. Wakley, Mrs. Millard at length waited on, and with some difficulty obtained admission to him: for it should be observed, that since the establishment of his "cheap publication," the circumstances and external appearance of the compiler of the Lancet had exhibited a marvellous alteration for the better. This humane gentleman was kind enough to say that he was sorry for her, and he really could not tell what she could do! Thus intimating that she had nothing to hope for from his assistance, and that for aught he cared, she might be left to sink without a struggle. He then condescended to enquire what progress Mrs. Millard had made in her intended statement of her husband's case—a statement, which it should not be forgotten, he had, without any solicitation on the part of Mrs. Millard, offered to bring before the public. He observed, that he was *now* on the most intimate terms with Sir Astley Cooper, who was a *most magnanimous person*, and who, he did not doubt would on his (Wakley's) interference, do something for her and her family: he concluded by desiring Mrs. Millard to call on him on a day which he appointed, determining at the same time, as it appears by his subsequent conduct, not to give himself the slightest future trouble on her behalf, as from that period up to the present moment he has never allowed himself to be seen by Mrs. Millard, nor has he made any communication whatever to her. Finding herself thus deluded and deserted, Mrs. Millard was advised to apply to Sir Astley Cooper as one to whose commiseration she possessed a strong

claim, and who had ample means of rendering her every kind of assistance. She accordingly waited on him, and stated the object of her application. On this occasion Sir Astley, in allusion to poor Millard, spoke in terms of warm commendation of his understanding and conduct; his death, which he said he deeply regretted, Dr. Farr had stated to have been produced by a brain fever *brought on by distress of mind:* under her present circumstances, however, all Mrs. Millard could desire was to have some provision made for the support of herself and family, and for this purpose Sir Astley Cooper generously—did what?—recommended Mrs. Millard to go to Sir William Blizard who, Sir Astley said, was "a very nice man," and who would, he was sure, do every thing in his power for her. Mrs. Millard proceeded to Sir William Blizard and presented to him the letter of introduction which Sir Astley Cooper had given her. On reading it he enquired, "How many children have you?" on being told six; he observed, "Indeed, Mrs. Millard, your's is a deplorable case;" and after some further enquiries desired her to call on him again.

After the lapse of a week or ten days, Mrs. Millard waited as desired again on Sir William Blizard, who then enquired whether she had seen Sir Astley Cooper; on her answering in the negative, he, determining as it would appear not to be outstripped in liberality by his brother professor of St. Thomas's, told Mrs. Millard to call on Sir Astley, without adding, however, that HE was "a very nice man," (which he might have done) and that he would advise her what steps to take. It is impossible to help being struck with admiration at the boundless munificence of these two wealthy and titled professors of medicine. But the liberality of Sir Astley Cooper had not yet reached its climax, for when Mrs. Millard waited on him in obedience to Sir William Blizard's directions, Sir Astley Cooper gave her——what do you imagine reader?—another recommendation: In short, he recommended her to apply to the Committee of the London Hospital, "Go, (said this compassionate and amiable man) go and tell them your story; *tell them, moreover, that by their vindictive conduct they* DESTROYED *your poor husband,* as they most certainly did. I will give you a note by way of introduction." The purport of this note was as follows:—Sir Astley Cooper presents his compliments to Mr. Valentine* and the gentle-

* The chaplain and resident governor.

men composing the Committee. and begs them to hear the bearer's story."

In obedience to the directions given by Sir A. Cooper, a petition to the Governors of the London Hospital was then drawn up by a medical student then residing in Mrs. Millard's house, of which the following is a copy.

"*To the Governors of the London Hospital, the Petition of* ANN MILLARD, *Widow,*

"SHEWETH,

"THAT it has long been a custom to disinter the persons buried in the London Hospital ground for the use of the anatomical school attached to the institution, or, if not required by the school, for the use of any professor of anatomy who would pay for them; that William Millard, your petitioner's late Husband, had often fetched subjects from the Hospital at the desire of Sir Astley Cooper, and Mr. Henry Cline, in whose service he was for thirteen years, and that, being aware, that Mr. Brooks, and the late Mr. Grainger, professors of anatomy, were frequently during the summer supplied from the same source, he conceived the practice to be authorized by the Governors of the Hospital, as your petitioner verily believes.

"That it was customary for some one of the servants of the Hospital, to send a letter, or message, stating, that a subject was to be disposed of at a certain price, some of which letters are hereunto subjoined, that in pursuance of such a message, received by Wm. Millard, he went to the burial-ground in August last, and was there apprehended, and taken to Lambeth Street Police Office, and was, by the sitting magistrate, sentenced to three months' imprisonment in the House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields, that this sentence being confirmed at the next sessions, he, the said Wm Millard was confined in the above prison, where he was attacked by a fever, frequently prevailing in that prison, which fever, was the cause of his death.

"That your petitioner, and her family of six young children, are thereby reduced to a state of great distress; that she trusts and believes, that the Governors of the Hospital were ignorant of the above circumstances, or that the prosecution against her late husband was carried on without their sanction, which latter she is more inclined to believe as the practice of disinterment is still subsisting, and that in consequence they will take the hardships of her case into their serious consideration and afford her some relief."

With this, accompanied by a friend of her late husband, Mrs. Millard proceeded to the London Hospital. On being admitted to the Reverend Governor, and explaining the object of her application, a long and animated conversation took place, in which the chief endeavour of Mr. Valentine was to convince Mrs. Millard that her husband was a worthless and profligate character. Mrs. Millard, under the influence of the irritation produced by this vague and groundless accusation, begged to know in what respect her husband was worse than the officers and servants of that hospital, who were notoriously in the habit of making a property of every poor person who died there, and why *they* were not prosecuted? To which the reverend gentleman replied that the governors *might* think proper "to wink" at what their servants did. Mrs. Millard wished to know whether it was consistent with their notions of justice to punish with unrelenting severity in one person what they "winked at" in another. The imputations on the character of poor Millard were repeated, and Mrs. Millard enquired of the reverend governor if her late husband was to be held so criminal for receiving or procuring subjects when in the service of Sir Astley Cooper, in what light those servants of the London Hospital were to be viewed who had recently been apprehended in the burial ground of that hospital, and being brought to the same office where the unfortunate Millard was taken, were almost immediately dismissed? Why, added Mrs. Millard, did the same magistrate who condemned my husband to an imprisonment which caused his death, dismiss these men without punishment or reproof? these very men who went back immediately to the burial ground, completed the disinterment of the body in which they had been engaged, and carried it into the dissecting room of the hospital? It will be easily imagined that these were questions which the Reverend Governor of the London Hospital did not find it easy to answer; he contented himself, therefore, with repeating his imputations on the character of poor Millard. Mrs. Millard, grieved and distressed by these reiterated attacks on her unfortunate husband, urged his reverend accuser to state whether he knew any other imputation than that he had already stated against her husband, of having obtained subjects for his employers. In answer to this interrogatory, Mr. Valentine declared, "we sent to Sir Astley Cooper to enquire into his character before we proceeded against him, and the

answer we received was, THAT MILLARD HAD BEEN DISCHARGED FROM ST. THOMAS'S FOR HIS DISHONEST PRACTICES!" It will be hardly necessary to state that Mrs. Millard was deeply shocked and afflicted at this intelligence: not from the slightest suspicion of its being founded in truth, because if the facts which we have already stated did not completely refute it, every individual both in and out of the Hospital to whom poor Millard was known could testify to the utter falsity of such an accusation, but that a man of Sir Astley Cooper's rank in the profession, and in society, who had both before and after the death of her husband expressed such a sense of his zeal and integrity, and had spoken in terms of warm commendation of his character and conduct, should condescend to become the inventor of a calumny so false and wicked, and which in a great measure led to the death of its victim, was a blow as severe as unexpected to the widow of poor Millard.

Mrs. Millard was then introduced to the Committee of the Governors of the London Hospital, a Mr. Hall being in the chair; the petition was handed to the chairman, who read it to the committee. The reader will probably recollect, or will find on referring to that document (a petition, which it must not be forgotten was written by the direction of Sir Astley Cooper), that it is there broadly asserted, "*That it has long been a custom* to disinter *the persons buried in the London Hospital ground for the use of the anatomical school attached to the institution; or if not required by the school, for the use of any professor of anatomy who would pay for them.*" To these, and the other allegations of a similar nature, neither the chairman nor any one else of those present attempted to give a denial or contradiction. But when the chairman came to that part which stated the petitioner's belief that the prosecution against her late husband was carried on without the knowledge or sanction of the Governors of the London Hospital, he stopped to observe, that the prosecution against William Millard was not only sanctioned, but positively directed, by the Governors of the London Hospital; for the purpose (as was stated on a former occasion by one of the medical officers of that establishment) of convincing the public that the bodies of those who died there were secure!!! Mrs. Millard was then asked for the letters referred to in the petition, and after they had been read, it was observed, that they were all in one

handwriting. Mrs. Millard replied that they were copies, the originals being in her possession at home. The chairman said they could not decide upon mere copies, they must see the originals. Mrs. Millard's friend stated that the originals should be laid before the committee, if an assurance were given that they would be returned. To which the profound and sagacious gentleman who was in the chair replied, that they could make no promises; but if Mrs. Millard threw herself upon their liberality, she must not hesitate to produce the original letters; adding, that if she brought them on the following committee day, they would see what could be done. The reader will not fail to have observed, that this band of "learned Thebans," who consist for the most part, we believe, of the tradesmen and their friends who supply the hospital, were terribly puzzled by this application; an application which in fact carried with it, by inference, a charge against them of having sacrificed an innocent man in order to screen themselves, and for the purpose of giving currency to a delusion and a lie in the public mind. The great object therefore was to gain time, to know how to deal with this awkward business, and this object was gained by the brilliant idea of the chairman to insist on having the original letters referred to in the petition.

In the interval, these trustworthy guardians of the sick poor, lost no time in summoning to their aid some of those respectable practitioners of the law who reside in their neighbourhood, fearing, probably, that their united wisdom and ingenuity, would not be a match for the plain unvarnished tale of a poor widow. After due deliberation, therefore, it was determined, that when the petitioner again appeared before them, they should affect total ignorance of the practices which, one of them had stated, they might deem it expedient to "wink at":—that they should disclaim all interference in the prosecution; and, finally, that in order to be consistent in their conduct, by acting with equal injustice to both husband and wife, they should dismiss the applicant without any redress or relief. On the following committee day, when Mrs. Millard appeared before them, and produced the original letters, the chairman stated, that IF what had been alledged was true, all they could do, would be to discharge their servants, and that as to the prosecution of the deceased, they had not instituted it. Mrs. Millard took the liberty of reminding the chairman, that at the last meeting

he declared that the Committee had both sanctioned and directed the prosecution; and also adverted to the observation of the magistrate, at the time he held her husband to bail, that the London Hospital had taken the business under their own management, and had taken all the responsibility off his hands,* and that if they wished well to their school of anatomy, they would drop the prosecution. To this the chairman had nothing to reply, but that they (the committee) did not punish her husband, it was the magistrates who condemned him, and the committee of the London Hospital had only "*substantiated*" the charges against him. The petitioner was then dismissed without any relief; and thus ended this edifying exhibition of meaness, equivocation, and shuffling.

On Mrs. Millard's return home, the medical student who wrote the petition to the London Hospital, and who has before been adverted to as the agent and organ of Sir Astley Cooper, and the other professors of St. Thomas's Hospital, enquired what had been her success. Mrs. Millard informed him, and added, that she had at length discovered that Sir Astley Cooper was, to a certain extent, the cause of the imprisonment and death of her unfortunate husband, by having invented a falsehood to calumniate him, and thus having instigated the managers of the London Hospital to proceed against him. He observed, exultingly, that his predictions were fulfilled, and that Sir Astley Cooper, to exculpate himself, had attacked the character of her husband. All hopes of redress, he added, were thus cut off, for what would the statements of an obscure and humble individual like her, weigh against the representations of a man invested with the wealth, rank, and power of Sir Astley Cooper? Mrs. Millard replied, it is but too true that the great majority of mankind are too prone, in England as elsewhere, to fall down and worship the golden calf, but at the same time, in no part of the world is a stronger sympathy displayed in favour of the unfortunate or the oppressed, when their case is once fairly made known.

As a sequel to the above statement, it may be mentioned that Mr. Bransby Cooper, the nephew and *medical* heir apparent of Sir Astley Cooper, met Mrs. Millard, and en-

* We very much suspect, that if the particulars of Matthew Wyatt, Esquire's conduct in this transaction were made known to his superiors, he would find, to his cost, that *all* the responsibility had not been taken off his hands.

quired what had been the result of her application to the Committee of the London Hospital, and on her stating that she had ascertained at last that Sir Astley Cooper had been in a great measure the instigator of the proceedings against her husband, he declared his belief that it was "a damned lie," and that his uncle never could have been guilty of the baseness and duplicity attributed to him. It will be, however, for the public to decide between the Reverend Governor of the London Hospital, and the titled Lecturer of St. Thomas's. To one of them certainly belongs the credit of inventing this calumny on the unfortunate William Millard, and the melancholy consequence with which it was attended. Mr. Bransby Cooper on this occasion offered his services to commence a subscription among the medical students of St. Thomas's Hospital for her, by all of whom her husband was, he said, greatly esteemed and respected; and he promised to call on her in a day or two afterwards to communicate with her further on the subject. Upwards of a twelvemonth has elapsed since this promise was given; Mr. Bransby Cooper has never troubled himself further about poor Millard or his destitute family.*

Having introduced this gentleman to the notice of our readers, it may not be amiss to add a few particulars respecting him, as illustrative of the present state of St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospitals.

* Mr. Bransby Cooper now resides with his uncle, for the purpose of receiving the crumbs which fall from the latter's table; in other words, to profit by the overflow of his wealthy relative's practice. This arrangement is an extremely fortunate circumstance for the crowds of credulous people who flock to Sir A. C's. house, under the impression that there is but one skilful surgeon in England; for, although Mr. Bransby Cooper has never been charged with excessive acuteness or dexterity, yet his advice must be preferable to that of Sir Astley Cooper's valet or porter, Charles Balderson, who has for many years opened the door to Sir Astley's patients, and who has been permitted, by Sir Astley, to prescribe for them! *Le vrai n'est pas toujours vraisemblable*, yet such the fact. A medical student, some few years since, had a patient for whom he wished the benefit of Sir Astley's advice. His indignation may be conceived, when he discovered that another person, who turned out to be Charles Balderson, Sir Astley's footman, had taken the fee and prescribed for his patient. By these, and other honest means, Charles has contrived to amass money enough to give large fees with each of three sons, whom he is educating to the medical profession, and who, if he bequeaths his own experience to them, may all turn out Astley Coopers. Charles would have retired, long since, to enjoy the fruits of his ingenuity, but that, like a minister of state, he cannot easily bring himself to relinquish the sweets of office.

We have only, in conclusion, to recommend any of our readers who may wish to consult Sir Astley to propitiate Charles by a free will offering, varying according to the urgency of the case, from a crown piece to a sovereign, otherwise they will have little chance of seeing the

Sir Astley Cooper recently resigned the lectureship of St. Thomas's, in th that like his title and fortune it was to be hat his nephew would of course succeed to it. On the resignation of any eminent lecturer, we believe, it is customary for the students to subscribe to present him with a piece of plate, as a testimony of regard and respect. It appears, however, that on the season preceding his resignation, Sir Astley Cooper had not only omitted to lecture, but had not even honoured the students with a single attendance, although his name had been announced as one of the lecturers, and the *subscriptions paid under that impression*. When the students were therefore applied to for the purpose of subscribing, they universally declined making any contribution for the purpose abovementioned, and Sir Astley was thus mulcted for the neglect of his duties. But this was not the only mortification he had to encounter; a competitor appeared, in the person of *Mr. John F. South*, for the vacant lectureship, and this gentleman was the more fortunate candidate. More fortunate, we say, because in point of talent, we believe it would be difficult to determine which has the advantage. What then made Mr. Bransby Cooper kick the beam and incline the scale in favour of Mr. John F. South? If report speaks true, it was what some learned philosopher calls a "concatenation of causes" proceeding as follows: The treasurer of St. Thomas's Hospital, as the reader has already been informed, is the autocrat of that establishment; the apothecary is considered to be the prime minister of the treasurer; and, finally, the apothecary has a fair daughter, to whom the successor of Sir Astley has sued in strains, which

> "Came over her ear like the *Sweet South*,
> That breathes upon a bank of violets,
> Stealing and giving odour."

The consequence was, that instead of Mr. Bransby Cooper succeeding his uncle, Mr. J. F. South was appointed to the vacant lectureship. As a chain of causes and effects, accounting for the success of the new lecturer, nothing has been more satisfactorily deduced since the discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton. Sir Astley Cooper, it may be imagined, has not borne very calmly this second disappointment and intimation of declining influence. An old adage declares, that "revenge is sweet;" and in order to enjoy these sweets,

Sir Astley has determined to create a schism between the hitherto united hospitals of Guy's and St. Thomas, by opening a new school of anatomy* in the former. Relinquishing his customary enjoyments at this season of the year, of killing and maiming hares and pheasants, he is moving (as the phrase is) heaven and earth to get ready, by the commencement of the autumnal season, a new theatre of anatomy, "with entirely new scenery and decorations," at which himself and his nephew may make their first appearance.

Whether the expense of this new speculation is borne by Sir Astley or not, we are unable to state; but we think it not improbable, as the funds of Guy's Hospital are very ample, that the cost will be sustained, to use the ingenious phraseology of the historian of St. Thomas's Hospital, *partly by the funds of the Institution*, and partly by those whose interests are more immediately concerned. Certain it is however, that Guy's Hospital is about to be applied to purposes, which its venerable and excellent founder never contemplated. That the public may be satisfied without the imprisonment and death of any one; that the bodies of those buried at Guy's Hospital are secure from disturbance, we shall take the liberty of mentioning the following anecdote. A few months since, a patient was admitted into that Institution, labouring under some complaint which had enlarged the head to an enormous size: the disease having baffled the skill of the medical attendants, the poor fellow at length died. If the bodies of patients, which having nothing remarkable about them cannot escape the dissecting knife, it will readily be guessed, that such a curiosity as this

* Since the above statement was written, the theatre of anatomy, alluded to, including spacious dissecting rooms has been built by the treasurer of Guy's Hospital, and opened by Sir Astley Cooper for the reception of students. The conjecture hazarded, respecting the mode of providing the means for erecting these costly edifices is correct, so far, that instead of the expense being borne partly by those whose interests are more immediately concerned, and partly by the funds of the institution, *the whole cost, to the amount of several thousand pounds* has been taken out of the funds of Guy's Hospital!

It is a melancholy fact, that *hundreds of the sick poor are turned away weekly* from St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospital unrelieved and unassisted, because there is no room to receive them, whilst the funds of these richly-endowed institutions, instead of being used for the only purpose to which they can be legitimately applied, i. e. the *enlargement of the buildings* for the reception of the suffering poor, are devoted *in secret* to the erection of anatomical theatres and dissecting rooms, in order to gratify the spleen and caprice, and to fill the coffers of private individuals, who are already rolling in wealth.

would be eagerly sought after. On the death of this person being communicated to his relatives, his mother and sister came up from the country to attend his funeral. They of course proceeded to the Hospital, and begged to be allowed to see the body. The steward to whom they addressed themselves, deeply regretted that the body *was in such a state that it could not be seen:* had they come but a day sooner their request would have been readily complied with; these good unsuspecting people went away nothing doubting the steward's veracity; they afterwards attended the funeral, and wept over a coffin filled with *brickbats and sawdust*, and which was committed to the earth with all due solemnity, by the Rev. Chaplain, as "the body of our dear brother *here* departed, in the sure hope of the resurrection of eternal life." It only remains for us to add in conclusion and *confirmation* of our story, that the skeleton of our "dear brother" now forms one of the greatest curiosities in the museum of Guy's Hospital, where it may be seen by all who can obtain admission to that receptacle of "physiological phenomena."

In order that the farce which is performed at these hospitals to delude the public may be deficient in none of its parts, a man is paid between fifty and sixty pounds a year to watch the burial ground of the united Hospitals at night, that no profane hands may disturb the repose of the dead. This good man may, however, enjoy his repose nearly as well in his watch box as he could at home, without any neglect of duty; sleeping or waking, he is assured that no bodies will ever be stolen, for the simple and all satisfactory reason—that none are placed there to steal. Thus it will be perceived that every possible precaution is taken to keep the public in the dark as to the purposes to which Hospitals are applied, and the manner in which they are managed. But, notwithstanding these precautions, the truth will sometimes transpire, as we find in the case which recently mentioned, was in the public papers as having occurred at Middlesex Hospital. A young woman died there possessing a remarkably fine set of teeth, on her friends proceeding to remove the body for the purpose of interring it, they found that all her teeth had been extracted. This excited both a general feeling of surprise and indignation in the minds of the public, who are not aware that the teeth of those who die in these establishments form a part of the regular perquisites of some one or other of the

medical attendants. In corroboration of this statement, we have only to mention a fact which occurred at the House of Correction, and in which a gentleman already "favorably known" to the reader of the preceding pages figures as a chief actor. About two years since a poor black (who had been sent to the "Cave of Despair," in Cold Bath Fields. by some of the humane and enlightened dispensers of law for the atrocious crime of asking alms), after pining some time under the tender care of Mr. Webbe, at last took his departure to that place "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest." His body was transferred as usual to a place appropriated for the purpose called the dead house. The poor fellow had a beautiful set of teeth, as white as ivory; these had attracted the attention of Webbe, jun. the assistant and hopeful son of his worthy progenitor, Webbe, sen. the former determined to lose no time in making himself master of this treasure, as by the sale of them to some fashionable dentist he would be enabled to make a pretty considerable addition to his pocket money.* Accordingly, having upon some pretext obtained the keys of the dead house from his *indulgent* and *unsuspecting* papa, he proceeded as soon "as the iron tongue of midnight had tolled twelve," accompanied by one of the assistants of the prison, to the place containing the body of the Ethiop; having gained admission, he grasped his instruments and approached his prey "with expectation big," when who can paint his consternation on finding that every tooth had disappeared, was clean gone, and "had left not a wreck behind," (the fact was, the old fox had been more on the alert than the young one, and had thus carried off the prize): exclaiming, "Why, damn it, my father has been here before me," and dutifully wishing him at the devil for having thus destroyed all his golden visions he sorrowfully retraced his steps, and left the *remains* of the poor negro's mortal tenement in peace.

Having digressed thus much for the information, and, perhaps, for the amusement, of the reader, it is time for us to bring our narrative to a close, by adding a few words respecting the present condition and future prospects of the widow and family of the unfortunate Wm. Millard. The reader is already aware what has been the result of Mrs. Millard's application for relief, or redress, to the different

* The price charged by a dentist for a complete set of teeth, we believe, is from fifteen to twenty guineas.

individuals who were instrumental in bringing about the imprisonment, and subsequent death, of her husband, and the distress and misery in which they have thus plunged his family. Beyond a paltry attempt at a subscription, and an insolent proposal to take one of her children as a foot-boy, nothing has been done for her. Nay, in order to intercept, effectually, any benefit she might have derived from those gentleman in the profession, to whom her husband was known, the professors and officers of St Thomas's Hospital have most industriously circulated a report that Sir Astley Cooper has made a comfortable provision for herself and family. A more ingenious plan to gain a reputation for kindness and benevolence, whilst inflicting a real injury, could scarcely be conceived. But whilst Mrs. Millard has experienced such treatment, from those who have made her children fatherless, and herself a widow, she acknowledges with gratitude, the kindness, the sympathy, and commiseration, she has experienced from various quarters, but especially from the following gentlemen, belonging to the medical profession:—Mr. Kent, Mr. Swan, Mr. College, Mr. Carpue, &c. &c.

Since the loss of her husband, Mrs. Millard has been straining every nerve to obtain, by the labour of her hands, the necessaries of life, for her six children, three of whom are struggling with a disease to which medicine can afford no relief. She herself is now attacked by a fearful complaint which threatens her with a premature death; her constitution is rapidly giving way under the anxiety and fatigue of mind and body, which she has had to encounter. If it should be her fate, as in all probability it will, to sink under the accumulated sufferings of sickness, poverty, and grief, she will submit to her fate, she declares, with comparative satisfaction, having done justice to the memory of her injured husband, and to the conduct of those who "persecuted him unto death."

[Some further particulars of Mr. Wakley, alluded to in the preceding pages, as illustrative of his character.]

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

Thursday, June 21, 1821.

WAKLY *v.* THE HOPE INSURANCE COMPANY.

This was an Action on a Policy of Insurance for £1,200, being for property destroyed by fire at No. 5, Argyll-street.

Mr. DENMAN stated the plaintiff's case, the general outline of which has been before the public in police reports. Mr. Wakly, the learned counsel stated, was a surgeon of great respectability, the son of a landholder in Kent. In December, 1819, he went to live in Argyll-street; and being married in February, 1820, he thought fit to increase his insurance from £600 to £1,200—an accession of household property naturally occurring on that occasion. On the night of the 26th of August a fire broke out, which destroyed the house; and Mr. Wakly's narrative of the circumstances *(which Mr. Denman admitted to be most extraordinary)*, though he thought it fully entitled to belief, was as follows:—On the night in question, Mr. Wakly's eyes being disordered, he had leeches brought him. Mrs. Wakly was on a visit to her father, and there were only two servants in the house. The servants went to bed about half past 11, and he proceeded to apply the leeches. Some time after he heard a knocking at the door, and on opening it, a man appeared, who requested his immediate attendance on Mr. Ivatt, a patient in the city. Mr. Wakly stated his own indisposition as a reason for not going that night, but promised to go early in the morning. The man then said he was very hot and thirsty, and begged for something to drink. Mr. Wakly admitted him; and tying a towel round his head, went down into the cellar to draw some cider for the man. Coming back up the stairs, he

received a violent blow on the head, which stunned him. When he recovered his senses, he found the house full of smoke and flame. He rushed into the back-kitchen, and contrived, by standing on a meat-safe, to force his way out on some leads, and thence into the yard of Mr. Thomson, his next door neighbour. From that time till two o'clock, when he was found in Mr. Thomson's house, he could give no account of himself. He was in a state of insensibility. The only way in which he could account for the attempt against him, was, that a calumnious report had got abroad, that he was the masked executioner of Thistlewood and his companions. Mr. Denman concluded by observing on the improbability, nay, the impossibility, of Mr. Wakly's having raised the fire himself. Where a man risked his own life, the lives of his servants and his neighbours, a very powerful motive must be discovered. Now Mr. Wakly was well off in the world—rising fast into practice and reputation; and so far from having to gain by a fire, he would lose money, should he recover the £1,200.

Mr. Geo. Thomson deposed, that he was alarmed on the night in question, just before one o'clock, by a noise in the street, and cry of fire. He ran down, and found Mr. Wakly's door open, and the house in flames. He busied himself in removing his plate, &c. and in about three quarters of an hour, he first saw Mr. Wakly in his (witness's) passage, with his clothes wet, himself covered with dirt and blood, and having the appearance of derangement or intoxication. Mr. W. was removed to Mr. Parker's, opposite, and there witness saw him about four in the morning. He was very languid and ill; and he shewed witness three cuts on his breast. There were no bruises.

Mr. S. Parker corroborated such parts of the above account as he was concerned in, particularly the deranged appearance of Mr. Wakly. He also stated, that Mr. W.'s body was much bruised.

Daniel Wicher, and *Sarah*, his wife, were the servants in the plaintiff's house. Were alarmed about one o'clock by the noise, and rushing down stairs, got out into the street through the passage, which was not much burnt then. The house was pretty well furnished. Most of the furniture was bought from the previous tenant, Archdeacon Wollaston; and there was some new furniture at the time of the marriage. Mr. Wakly was very regular in all his payments.

Joseph Ashelford is an upholsterer. He valued the Archdeacon's furniture which Mr. Wakly took at between 500 and £600, but Mr. Wakly had it for £300. Witness furnished new goods to the amount of £80. In the inventory presented to the Hope office, he valued three rose-wood tables at £27.

Mr. GURNEY—They are charged, my Lord, in the maker's bill at £16.

Witness—My inventory for the office was made after the fire, and of course from memory.

Further evidence was adduced, to prove, that the plaintiff had bought the household goods of a Mr. Malison, valued at £40; and that Mrs. Wakly was handsomely fitted out on her marriage, having £300 worth of clothes, £30 of plate, besides numerous presents from relations.

Mr. MARRYAT, for the defendants, contended, in the first place, that *gross fraud had been committed by the plaintiff* in his inventory to the Hope office. For furniture, which had cost at most £450, £735 were charged; for plate £168 were claimed, and all the melted metal found in the ruins had weighed only 73 ounces; and articles had been put into the inventory as silver, remnants of which had been found, and found to be merely plated. Again, the difference between the property alleged, and the bills of purchase, SHEWED AN AUDACIOUS ATTEMPT AT FRAUD. THE ALLEGED PROPERTY WAS £1542, BUT THE VOUCHERS ONLY WARRANTED £708. Now Mr. Wakly had been a housekeeper but a few months, and therefore had means of proving purchases. He now came to the extraordinary attack of the midnight assassin. That assassin must have been a man of no ordinary penetration; he must have discovered that Mr. Wakly had a patient named Ivatt; and he must have foreseen that at the particular hour of his visit, Mr. Wakly would, in person, open the street door to him (having previously sent all the servants to bed); refused to attend a patient, and go down stairs to draw beer. He (Mr. Marryatt) put it to the jury whether a gentleman knocked up at twelve at night, and asked for liquor, was not more likely to give the petitioner six-pence, and send him to the public-house, than himself to go down into the cellar? The assassin, it was said, knocked Mr. Wakly down, and stabbed him; but he went to Hammersmith next day, and the doctor who attended him *had not been called*. Mr. Wakly was found half an

hour after the alarm in Mr. Thomson's house. Where had he been from the breaking out of the fire? When he found the house in flames, *why go through the skylight, when he might have walked out at the street door?* And again, why break the skylight to get upon the leads when there was a back door? There was another circumstance worthy the attention of the jury. It had been suggested by the plaintiff, that he had lost a quantity of guineas contained in a writing-desk. The writing-desk had been burned, but the guineas would not burn, they would not even melt; and yet no guinea could ever be found among the ruins, although the rubbish had been sifted. Still the unknown stranger might have stolen the guineas. There were two circumstances against that: first, he had left untouched a pair of silver candlesticks close to the desk; and next, although the desk had been burned, the lock had been found in a locked state; a thief, after stealing the guineas, would scarcely have taken the trouble to lock the desk after him. In fact, as the jury would see, Mr. Wakly had been mercifully dealt by, for the murderer had made wounds only skin deep, and the thief had carried away nothing.

G. Beforth and *D. Bliss* were the watchmen who entered the house on the alarm. They proved, that before the servants rushed out, they heard the bolt of the street door undrawn; that Mr. Wakly could be found no where, and that the back parlour door was locked.

Stephen Lavender, the police officer, gave important evidence as to the cuts in the clothes of the plaintiff. [A figure was put in the witness box, of the size and figure of the plaintiff, dressed in the clothes worn on the fatal night.] "*There are two cuts in the shirt where only one appears in the waistcoat. There is a considerable stain on the cut part of the shirt; but there is no corresponding stain on the inside of the waistcoat. The stain here upon the shirt is certainly made by a mixture of blood and water.* If the stain had been made by blood flowing from a wound, it would, no doubt, have been of a much deeper colour. Mr. Wakly told me that he had received two threatening letters before the fire; but he did not say that they spoke of his having cut off the heads of Thistlewood and his companions. He said he believed them to have arisen out of some jealousy at his late marriage."

Mr. Thomas Harvey, a surgeon, thought the stains were made by a lighter fluid than blood.

Dr. Stephen Luke found two very slight wounds on the plaintiff's body, not sufficient, he thought to produce the stains on the shirt. Mr. Keats, a surgeon, had attended plaintiff before witness.

Mr. W. King, a surgeon and apothecary, has attended to plaintiff's business while plaintiff was in the country. During about ten days, witness was only called to one patient.

Mr. DENMAN, in reply, urged, that the mistake of stating plated articles for silver was corrected in the vouchers accompanying the inventory. He contended that, under all circumstances, there were as many vouchers as could be expected; and he dwelt with great force on the want of an ostensible motive on the part of Mr. Wakly to commit the dreadful crimes of murder and arson.

The CHIEF JUSTICE remarked, that the absence of apparent motive, though it told strongly for Mr. Wakly, was not conclusive. In estimating the claim against the Office, the Jury would consider in the plaintiff's favour, that having purchased the furniture from an outgoing tenant, he got it very cheap. The evidence of Beforth as to the undrawing of the street door bolt was material: and that of Bliss, as to his having found the door of the back parlour fast, was still more so; because the fastening of the back parlour door was incompatible with THE TALE, ALREADY EXTRAORDINARY, TOLD BY MR. WAKLY. It was possible, however, that Bliss might have mismanaged the lock of the back parlour door in his hurry. His Lordship wished that Mr. Keats the surgeon had been called, because the plaintiff, by his own account, must have received a very violent blow upon the head. Now no witness had spoken to any such hurt.

The Jury, after retiring for about a quarter of an hour found for the plaintiff—Damages £1200.

It will not be necessary to make any observation upon the above trial, as it will speak sufficiently for itself. With respect to the verdict which was obtained against the Fire Office in this case, it should not be forgotten that the TWO THURTELLS brought an action against the County Fire Office, and were equally fortunate with the plaintiff in the present case, in obtaining a verdict against the Insurance

Company; but that the survivor of those wretched criminals was afterward tried, convicted, and is now suffering the penalty of having conspired to defraud the County Insurance Company. How consoling it must be to Mr. Wakly and his friends to reflect, that there is not the slightest similarity between the two cases: that not the remotest suspicion can attach to his conduct; and that had his character been submitted to the test of a judicial examination, similar to that of Thurtell's, it would, "like gold seven times tried in the furnace," have come out of the ordeal pure and unblemished!

THE END.

Printed by and for Ann Millard, Gregory's Place, St. Thomas's Tents.